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The
American Historical Review

FALLACIES IN HISTORY

NO science has come out of the Atrocious War more discredited than has psychology as taught and practised by the Germans. Until recently the world regarded it as their especial science. They printed numberless investigations into the psychology of the erotic and the neurotic, of the sane and the insane. They thought that in psychology they had the key which would easily open to them dominion over all peoples. The war proved that they were woefully mistaken; their key unlocked to them only the hidden labyrinthine springs of the German people. They thought that their policy of frightfulness would cause foreigners to give up defending themselves in their terror, and to cringe and whimper before the on-crushing Teutonic hosts. That is apparently what the Germans would have done if the situation had been reversed. But the Belgians did not cringe or whimper; the French did not lay down their arms in terror; the staunch and stolid British not only did not feel or act scared, but seemed for a long time to underrate the great peril which threatened them.

This revelation of the utter inability of German psychology to understand any other race except the German, must vitiate their psychological interpretations in history and in biography, which the German *Gelehrten* have been foisting upon us during the last half-century. This is another reason, I think, why we should be on our guard against history that has been made in Germany. Perhaps I may give this warning with more propriety, for I have protested ever since I began to write, more than thirty years ago, against the German method of writing history. I saw that any method which dehumanizes the subject—history—which should be the most human of all, because it deals entirely with human passions, and actions, and motives, and must be concrete, because men and women are not abstractions, was inevitably a wrong method. I saw, too, that the

boasted impartiality of the Germans, was in many cases pure humbug. Whether Mommsen deliberately intended in his chapters on Caesar to glorify the Prussian ideal of despotism under a single despot, that is what he actually arrived at. That von Sybel was the unblushing court historiographer of the House of Hohenzollern was too apparent to be doubted. Treitschke, intellectually the ablest of the modern German historians, and the one among them whose diabolical influence exceeded that of all the rest, was no more or less impartial than is any special pleader of the first rank, trying to befog and convince a jury. On the score of impartiality, therefore, the modern German historians did not greatly impress me; and since the war has disclosed that they, like the other professional men, the teachers, and clergy, in Germany, were simply working to Germanize the world in order to make it an easier prey for German ambition, I have felt it a duty to repudiate them. If we are to raise history to the high place in the regard of men which it should occupy, we must purge it from the corruption which the Germans inflicted upon it. They used it simply as a higher form of the deception practised by the imperial government. But, as our sole end is truth, not the deification of the Hohenzollern dynasty or the worship of Junkers, I repeat my warning: having every reason to distrust German psychology as we have seen it recently applied, we must beware of accepting the interpretation of history and biography as psychologized by modern German historians.

Psychology seems to be, indeed, a dangerous instrument to knowledge. Fascinating it is, beyond question. We might almost call it the chameleon science, because its conclusions are so subjective. Lowell wittily remarked that the reason why everybody supposes that he can find truth at the bottom of a well is that everybody sees his own face there.

A person not long ago endeavored to interpret literature as a manifestation of the Freudian Wish, and he found no difficulty in proving that Longfellow's poem, "I stood on the bridge at midnight", originated in a sexual motif of which Longfellow was unconscious. All that a sane mind can infer from such a statement is that the doctrine of the Freudian Wish is in danger of being overworked by its devotees. Our fathers took great comfort in the Sun Myth, but that too was overworked, and it seems to have scuttled away into the burrow where once fashionable theories hibernate.

In warning against modern German interpretation of history, I do not mean to imply, of course, that the thoroughness and care with which the Germans study history should be discarded. I would

insist, however, that the Germans have no monopoly over thoroughness and care. Every true historian, from Thucydides down, has wished to know the truth, and to tell it, as exactly as he could. We almost define the historian as a man with a passion for understanding an episode, or era, or historic personage, in the past. So far as the German method of study leads to the consideration of human beings as if they were chemical substances, always subject under given conditions to immutable reactions, we must be on our guard. From this fallacy has arisen the idea of the spurious science of history, and with this idea goes the assumption that men are mere soulless machines, pulled hither and thither by mechanical laws in a universe without morals.

In writing history, we shall be as scrupulously impartial as our temperament allows, and that includes not only our passion for telling the truth, but our sense of justice, and love of honesty. Many great historians have not been impartial. Carlyle and Macaulay, the chief British masters in history of the nineteenth century, were plainly unneutral; but their unneutrality was honest, it does not deceive you; indeed it may reveal the truth to you more accurately than drab, dispassionate impartiality could do. The zealot often sees more than a hostile critic can, in a creed or leader, and he feels emotions which are more important than definitions. The sort of partizanship displayed by Carlyle, or Macaulay, or Grote, being honest, has no resemblance to the deliberate attempt to deceive by veiled Prussian propaganda, and to pervert and to corrupt, not less than to deceive, of the modern German writers and teachers of history.

One of the commonest dangers which the historian runs when he attempts to interpret history, comes from the use of *a priori* arguments. Judging from the torrents of reasons which have been poured upon us of late, as to the League of Nations and as to the effects the treaty of peace will produce, one sees only too plainly that the lesson of the war, which should have taught us to beware of *a priori* arguments before everything else, has been lost on us. Consider, for a moment, the golden age of the *a priori* reasoners who flourished in the decade before the Great War. On all sides we observed warlike symptoms. In spite of suggestions and even offers from other nations, to reduce military strength and preparation, Germany brusquely refused, and not merely increased her army, but went into the business of building up a formidable navy. Officially, she showed by her swaggering threats at Agadir, and elsewhere, that she was intent on making war, and delayed only to catch

the most favorable time for beginning. Her publicists, notably General Bernhardi, issued books to influence the passions of the Pan-Germanists, and to demonstrate how easy it would be, if Germany had the will, for her to conquer the world, which was the mission assigned to her by destiny. Two wars, comparatively small in extent but terribly fierce, actually broke out in the Balkans, and yet the A-Priorists kept on singing as sweetly as the sirens their song of peace. Instead of seeing things as they were, they saw theories which they had agreed to accept as real, and which screened them from reality. These vast armaments, they said, are indeed distressing, and cause an awful burden on the peoples and a waste of resources, but the very fact of the vastness of the armies on a war footing is a guarantee of peace. The weapons and machines of destruction had been so perfected that no human armies could, or would, stand up against them. So, by a wonderful irony, the demon of war, in his attempt to make himself irresistible, had virtually made war impossible. Then too, moral and social considerations would preserve peace. The world was becoming better, with such speed that you could almost see it grow in virtue. Charities of all kinds, the desire of the rich to assist the poor, of the strong to comfort the weak, the greater concern on the part of the community to safeguard health, and diffuse pleasures, the development of the sense of mercy towards the suffering even of animals—what did this all indicate, except that the nations would never listen to the proposal to go to war? War was the negation of mercy, charity, justice, even humanity. They assured us that no monarch, no government, could be so wicked as to plunge into this crime. Modern inventions, transportation by sea or land, modern commerce, which enabled the industrial products of one country to be exchanged swiftly with those of another, modern banking and finance, which bound together the stores of capital in all parts of the world in ties so sensitive that they responded to the faintest tick of the telegraph, would veto the first whisper of war. Capital is *solidaire*, capital thrives on peace.

With such assurances, many of which we may suspect issued from German sources, the nations ought to have been lulled, and only too evidently they were lulled—to their own undoing. We lived in the best possible of worlds, in which war could never take place. Nevertheless, war came, a frightful war, an atrocious war, for which history has no parallel. I need not trace the steps which led to the convulsion, but the A-Priorists owe it to mankind to explain how they deduced inviolable peace from conditions which made war inevitable.

Old Oxenstiern's remark on the little wisdom with which the world is governed, might be matched by another on the little foresight of supposed statesmen. Is there any class of experts which displays so much ignorance on concerns of first-rate importance? If you consult an eminent lawyer or doctor, the chances are ten to one that he can give you a valid opinion. Not so the statesman. Take what would seem to be a simple test. Ask him whether war is likely to come within a given time. If he is honest and sagacious he will tell you that he does not know. How shall we qualify Lord Granville, therefore, who at the beginning of July, 1870, announced that the peace of Europe was assured, and that not the smallest threatening cloud could be seen on the horizon; and yet at that very moment Bismarck was working with might and main in order, as he said, by waving the red flag before the Gallic bull to drive him to desperation. Bismarck intended, if he could compass it, that there should be war; but even he could not state with certitude that there would be war, for he could not foresee the preposterous blunders of the French government. The dominating fact of it all was that he was ready to turn to his own advantage any blunder the French might make, and he had behind him the very powerful Prussian army, to strike with at a moment's notice. To know what he wants and to be prepared, are the two indispensable attributes of the real statesman. "If you ask me what will happen within a year, or within a month", said Cavour, in substance, "I cannot tell you; but if you ask me how I would act under any given combination of circumstances, I can tell you." Therein he differed from the doctrinaire, or the shallow observer, like Lord Granville. His saying confirms my belief that the average statesmen constitute the least trustworthy body of specialists; and as we advance in the process of democratization, we find it more difficult to foresee with reasonable clearness what antics the future will play in political affairs.

In earlier times, when the international relations among the countries were determined by monarchs, or by ministers who spoke and acted for the monarchs, it was comparatively easy to predict. England and France had a traditional policy which with occasional variations or digressions directed their mutual relations for many years. No signpost was needed to the attitude which Louis XIV. would take towards Austria. So, in the competition of cunning in which Ferdinand of Spain, the Emperor Maximilian, and the English Henry VII. engaged, we have helpful clues from knowing these respective policies. But to-day, when a parliament or a congress may upset the plans of a country, the penumbra of uncertainty has

broadened. In Congress men often support or oppose a bill for reasons which have nothing to do with the goodness or badness of the bill itself. This is one of the penalties, if you choose so to call it, of democracy; but I believe that in the long run democracy is a better instrument than unchecked autocracy for achieving the high ends of civilization. It adds evidently to the burdens of the statesman, and requires of him faculties which were never looked for in old days. Cavour, Lincoln, Roosevelt, had to persuade Congress to support their measures before they could cause those measures to be accepted by Piedmont, or by the United States. How different the task of Olivares or Richelieu, of Mazarin, or of Metternich.

These thoughts make me view with scepticism many of the assertions, and promises, and demonstrations with which we have been bombarded by the friends and enemies of the League of Nations and the treaty of peace. I hope that my scepticism is healthy and that my suspicion is warranted. But who has a right to be as certain of anything as are those persons who argue so vehemently about every item under dispute? Whatever happens must happen in the future, and we can assert no more about the future than that it some time will be the present. Imagine a drawing-master who should set his pupils to draw and paint the clouds which will form the sunset on some evening next June. This figure insists on rising before me when I listen to the conflicting prognostications. I do not wish to ridicule the habit we all have of building castles in the future. There are certain apparently fixed facts in human nature, and in geography, which we instinctively count on. The sun will rise tomorrow, the seasons will follow each other in their immemorial circuit, and with hardly noticeable variations; but we must not mistake our belief in the permanence of facts like these, for the vague, elastic, and unpredictable combinations in politics. Even a timid man of science, who shudders at any inaccurate statement, may dare to assert that water will never run up hill so long as the earth remains as we now know it; and yet there are prophets so bold that they do not hesitate to say what will be the condition in Dantzic ten years hence, or in Ragusa, or Somaliland.

I know not whether to pity or to envy those who feel their position in the universe so assured! Omniscience must be a delightful delusion for its victim, although it sometimes bores his victims. My own position, I am ashamed to say, is rather that of the spider who spins a long thread from a bough, and swings to and fro, dropping deeper and deeper trying to find bottom, or some other bough to which she may make fast the lower end of her thread. As a result

of this limitation, my scepticism increases as I listen to the champions and to the antagonists of the peace treaty and of the league.

Nevertheless, I firmly believe that there are some principles which, humanly speaking, may be considered immutable. The spirit of righteousness may take different forms in externizing itself, but it does not change. So the loyalty of man to man, friendliness to one's neighbor, self-sacrifice, are abiding elements of human nature, in the same way that iron and gold and oxygen are elements in the chemical world. If you have assembled these in your treaty or your league, nothing can prevent the dawning of the Utopian day; if you have not, you can no more attain peace than you can twist ropes of sand.

After making this confession which casts doubt on our ability to peer far into the future, shall I be charged with inconsistency when I declare that I believe history will become increasingly a vital concern not only to students, not only to intelligent amateurs who by means of a good historical work can wander up and down through the past without leaving their library, just as they can, by means of a good book of travel, explore the earth without fatigue or discomfort, from the tropics to the pole? Is it not discreditable that although we have the political records of the more forward peoples for nearly three thousand years, we have distilled from them no essential knowledge to serve beginners in statecraft? "History never repeats", you may urge; and no doubt all the elements of any event may not be repeated in a later combination, but the gist may be repeated over and over again. A liar may never tell the same lie twice, or with the same results, but it will still be possible for the person who investigates the art of lying to generalize truth from the study of particular lies.

Speaking of puzzles, I am reminded of economics and statistics; which I wish to refer to, however, with the respect to which their great service entitles them, and which an ignoramus ought always to pay to shrines of knowledge into which he has never strayed. The economists have arrived at certain conclusions concerning sumptuary laws, inflation, attempts to fix maximum and minimum scales, the observance of which ought to prevent the recurrence of economic and financial follies and disasters. The old kings of France, when they were hard up, stamped their names on pieces of leather which they forced the people to accept instead of gold and silver coins, a device which merely staved off bankruptcy. Devices equally absurd, though not exactly of the same form, have been practised in the United States in this very year. Why should not we be taught to

profit by the blunders of the past? The inhabitants of a shore where there are dangerous quicksands do not go on, generation after generation, walking into the quicksands; cannot the experience of our forerunners teach us also what to avoid in government and in politics?

Perhaps the reason why history has so seldom been respected as a guide or as a warning, is because it has so seldom laid bare the moral basis of politics. Politicians have chosen to look upon morals as having little or nothing to do with politics. In Germany they carried this notion so far that professors and parsons evolved a system which scoffed at the idea that the state had any business to consider the moral law. Whatever it decided to do was right; and the learned and pious champions of this system so far lost touch with reality that they failed to see that, while the state was an abstraction, the men who governed it were concrete human beings. And these doctrinaires flattered themselves that they had discovered the secret of *Realpolitik*, of "practical politics". But morals are to politics what the rocky bottom is to the stream which flows over it; and when history is so written that it shows not merely the frothy and often confused events that speed away on its surface, but the permanent basis, this will deserve and receive a more serious attention. Then may its generalizations carry real weight; and its truths, which are now embodied in ambiguous proverbs or fantastic folklore, will have definite validity.

Again I must disavow any purpose of advising that moral interpretations be lugged in. We will never let down the bars for those who would inject the Sunday-School-book spirit into the interpretation of history—that spirit which is thrice objectionable: first because it sets up a false world and makes believe that it is true; next because it turns those who write its books into sanctimonious deceivers; and last because it perverts the children who read the books into precocious prigs. Whoever sees life deeply, and has the talent to describe it, will not fail to reveal that it is an affair of more than surfaces; but this revelation is more likely to be made unconsciously than by deliberate intent. To set out to find a purpose is like hunting mare's nests. I remember reading a book of essays by a Shakespeare critic who wished to prove that in each of the plays Shakespeare wishes to unfold a moral design. The critic with dexterity, not to say surprising intellectual sleights, proved his case to his own satisfaction, until he came to *Othello*; he admitted that he was puzzled to justify the killing of Desdemona, for he could not find her charged with any crime that merited capital punishment. At last a beam of

light broke through his critical perplexity. Shakespeare condemned Desdemona to death because she was guilty of miscegenation! Let historians take warning; let them refrain from wedding the false standards of a spurious ethics to the truth of facts. That indeed is miscegenation worthy of death by strangling.

One fallacy which is too old to be called modern has been recently revived and employed in so many places and by so many persons that evidently those who employ it deem it efficacious in spite of its age and of its patent speciousness. We must notice it, therefore, in passing. Its mechanism is as simple as that of a popgun adapted to the use of the smallest boy. The plot, if we may dignify it by that name, runs thus: if the same thing happens to two persons, they must therefore be alike. Lately I heard a publicist of distinction in his community argue that Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, had all been outrageously abused and misjudged by their contemporaries; but time has reversed this judgment, and those three are now held in the highest honor. President Wilson is being abused and misjudged by some of his contemporaries; therefore he and Washington and Lincoln are alike, and equal.

Those of us who will not be alive fifty years hence cannot tell what time's immunity bath may do to Mr. Wilson's fame; but while we live we can at least protest against such silly logic, and laugh as we protest. Put it in another form: the lion and the adder have each two eyes; therefore the lion and the adder are similar. Two men rowing in the same canoe are upset and drowned; therefore both have red hair. But why should we be surprised that logic too has gone into the melting pot, in our era of convulsions? Has not everything else? The standards of music, and poetry, and painting, began to crumble years before the war; the ideals of justice, humanity, and righteousness have been thrown overboard, and Bolshevism has been openly preached in this country, and, shame to say, perverted professors and degenerate intellectuals have been its prophets. The gigantic, primeval beast has sloughed off humanity, as a snake sloughs its skin, and we have the aboriginal ego, the remorseless and insatiate self, a creature of claws and fangs and coils, which denies God and right and law, and seeks only the gratification of its lusts and cruelties.

Amid such a dissolution why should logic be spared? Logic is the system of thinking which, in the course of many ages, has been evolved by reasoning men. If you throw it over, you have no common meeting-ground with those who still reason. Logic binds the minds of men together in their processes of thought. It unites ra-

tional thinkers to-day with the thinkers of all the past, and all of its products and ideals. The Bolshevik has voted to abolish God; he might as well abolish the multiplication table, or the binomial theorem about which he hardly knows more than about God. Whirling words unchecked by reason cost nothing, and they create nothing, unless it be chaos. Universal law, which they supposed they had abolished, underlies chaos itself, and will bring back order. Logic, too, refuses to be destroyed; can you destroy the law of gravity, which causes the acorn to drop from the oak, or the cone from the hemlock?

Should not historians, therefore, whose domain is the past, regard themselves as dedicated to defend those great facts and attributes in human nature which have been manifested in the past, and become, so far as we can say this of anything human, permanent? I do not mean fashions in creed, or politics, or society, or art; we may look upon these as we might look upon the voyages of ships to different ports, but the laws of navigation by which each ship steers are the same. So let us resolutely stand by logic and repel every attempt upon it. The instance which I have cited, in which by using false logic President Wilson was raised to the same level as Washington and Lincoln, shows the power of the unthinking to mislead, and of the designing to deceive. President Wilson may be equal or superior to both Washington and Lincoln, but not on the grounds alleged; and it must seriously impair the intelligence of the American people if they are allowed to suppose that such arguments deserve credence.

I shall close this list of fallacies by referring to the prediction which has lately been made that history proper will soon cease to be written or read. Estimable scholars, recognized professionals in the field of history, hold this opinion, and yet I cannot help believing that they are the victims of a fallacy. We shall have, they say, special histories of politics, of society, of finance, of industry, of crimes, of religion, of transportation, and of all the other aspects of life, but there will be no attempt to consider a people, or a nation, as a separate entity having a continuous life of its own. Is this not like saying that there will be no more anatomy, no more study of the human body with the interplay and co-ordination of its various parts and functions, but only a minute investigation of each of those separate parts? Instead of "Anatomy", the titles of monographs will read "Pylorus", "Thyroid Gland", "Clavicle", and each vertebra of the backbone will have its special volume. Do you think this likely? And if it were likely, would it be desirable? If you lop

off all branches of a tree, and, after studying each branch, you study each twig, should you really know the whole tree, having failed to examine its trunk? I think not.

I hold, therefore, that history proper will endure as long as nations and tribes lead a collective life through which runs what we may call a common, consecutive, public plot. From this as a centre may radiate as many separate functions and interests as you choose, and each may have its special chronicles. One who thinks otherwise, and predicts that history will soon be dispersed and lost in its elements, is like one who should devote his life to studying the mouse, and should declare that the order of mammals might be regarded as non-existent.

Having seen through this fallacy, also, we shall not allow ourselves to be entrapped by it.

Thus I have touched on several matters suggested, or made directly pertinent by the recent war, and concerning more or less nearly the relation of history to life. I have attempted throughout to look at the historian broadly and generously, measuring his scope by the reach of his ideals. I do not wish to imply the slightest disparagement to those students and practitioners of history who limit their task to the scrutiny of some minute subject. That, too, is worth while when the tiller makes the plot which he cultivates so much his own, so firm and completely investigated, that nobody can shake his hold on it, and that everybody who follows him can count upon it as an established fact.

But, as ideas are above facts, so interpretation is above information. We must not only catalogue the impressions and events which flow in unending sequence over our consciousness, we must try to discover the meaning of the stream. Even the most rigid agnostic, for whom every path vanishes in the unknowable, sees at least far enough to frame for himself a creed which will serve to guide him through the mazes of the knowable—the actual and known existence which conditions our daily lives. Socrates, too, had his unknowable, but like the wise man he was, it neither discouraged nor frightened him. "If our ship sinks on the ocean of life," he said, "we must build us a raft, and drift on over the waters, as best we may, but with courage unabated." Not less valiant, certainly, should be the spirit of historians.

The interpretation I have in mind, will not be quickly found and cheap; it will not be partizan special pleading, under disguise; it will not be Protestant or Roman Catholic, Mohammedan or Jew. Directly or indirectly, it will give tidings of the mysterious life from

which we all spring. As historians grow more subtle they will see more clearly the subtlety of life, and their histories will be more subtle. In our efforts during the past half-century to attain precision and impartiality, two indispensable qualities in every history worthy of the name, we have overlooked other qualities needed in any perfect work. For a while we were told with much stubborn assertion, that it makes no matter how a man writes, or how he presents his facts; if readers can discover all the facts in the historian's dump, his end was achieved. From this came the epigram: "If a book of history is interesting, it is not history." This doctrine of muddle, or slovenly writing, condemns itself, and though some still practise it, none praise it. Speech being the instrument through which human beings exchange thoughts, does anyone maintain that he speaks best who stammers most?

Let "Hospitality" be written over the gate which opens on our great domain of history. Let every worker, if he be earnest and true, be held in honor, and let each work according to his talents and his choice. There must be distinctions—what is life but an unending series of distinctions—there must be great and small, but identity in purpose will bring all into a common equality of friendship.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

GENOESE TRADE WITH SYRIA IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

THE economic significance of the medieval Italian cities has received less attention from historians than it has deserved, perhaps because their political and artistic importance has been so striking. But the bonds of medievalism were material as well as spiritual. Life in the later Middle Ages was freer and richer not only because the spiritual bonds were being shattered but because physically men were more comfortable; because the new tastes could be more easily gratified through the possession of greater material means. In the increasing interchange of commodities throughout the Mediterranean that assisted so much in this transformation of the Middle Ages, Florence, Venice, and Genoa played the dominant rôles. The first two, as centres of medieval civilization and trade, have justifiably received the greatest attention; with them Genoa failed to compete in any but the commercial field. The Genoese have not thought deeply nor built grandly. They never achieved the political coherence of Venice or the solid native industrial foundation of Florentine life. Yet in commercial and colonial exploitation no shore of the Mediterranean escaped Genoese influence, and in a large measure the peoples on its western shores for centuries were dependent on the Genoese merchants for most luxuries and many necessities. To the historian, moreover, Genoa should be particularly interesting, because the preservation of the archival records has been so nearly complete from the twelfth to the sixteenth century that the economic phenomena of the changing world can best be observed there in fine detail.

Perhaps never since the ancient Phoenicians has a people been so exclusively maritime as the Genoese. About them on the east and north, behind them as it were, rose a mountain-wall as an obstacle to landward growth. To the south lay the whole Mediterranean, a field of activity promising the richest rewards, limited only by their own energy and perseverance. The physical situation predestined them to a maritime career. Their restless activity made that sea their own, not indisputably, but upon it no rival could with impunity disregard their will. With admirable restraint they extended their hegemony over Liguria but only within the safest of limits, so that no rival to sea power might arise near by. To the maritime and

mercantile motive all the hard strength of the folk was directed; even the factional rivalries that ravaged the internal life as in no other medieval Italian city, were hushed when the sea power was threatened, when the nerves of the commune, its commerce, were assailed, or when some great maritime enterprise was in prospect.¹ It is not the purpose of this paper to trace this spirit throughout its course but to treat the period in which it first reached self-consciousness, looked into the future, formulated a plan, tried various experiments, with different degrees of success, and at last entered upon its own. The time roughly was the twelfth century, from the beginning of the Crusades to the capture of Constantinople by the men of the Fourth Crusade. The field was the whole Mediterranean, and the great success came in Syria. Within that period the commune was born, tried its strength, and at the close began its greater career.

All the foundations of Genoa's later triumphs were laid in the twelfth century. Once a Roman *municipium*, long under Byzantine rule, reduced by the Lombards in the seventh century to a defenseless village, pillaged again and again by the Saracens in the ninth and tenth, it was not until the eleventh century that the city was free and strong enough, in momentary alliance with Pisa, to attack the Saracens with some success, to dispute with her occasional ally their respective rights in Sardinia and Corsica,² and to look far afield for the realization of her destiny. As early as 1087-1093 the Genoese dreamed of conquests in Africa and Spain,³ but the strife of internal factions, grappling for the control of the government, then just escaping from the feudal domination of the Ligurian margraves, was not stilled until Urban II. gave the summons to the Crusade. The Genoese heard that call which so stirred Christendom and seized upon it as a means toward unity and power. At once they were launched on a career in the Levant that was to make their city the great emporium of the western Mediterranean, a point of exchange between East and West for many centuries.⁴

¹ E. Heyck, *Genua und seine Marine im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge* (Innsbruck, 1886), pp. 1-4.

² H. J. Sieveking, "Genueser Finanzwesen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Casa di S. Giorgio", in *Volkswirtschaftliche Abhandlungen der Badischen Hochschulen*, I, 3 (Freiburg i. B., 1898), pp. 1-2; A. Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (Munich, 1906), pp. 63-64.

³ *Annales Ianuenses*, in *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia pubblicate dall' Istituto Storico Italiano*, vols. XI., XII. (Rome, 1890), I, 13.

⁴ The belief in a thriving Genoese trade in the Levant previous to the First Crusade, founded almost entirely on fable and forgery, has persisted curiously. See W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age* (Leipzig, 1885),

In view of the lack of locally manufactured goods of high value, of the failure to produce sufficient food and materials for home consumption, Genoese trade could only be built upon profits gained from rare products of the Levant, the need of which throughout the West would furnish the economic force necessary to the attainment, first of independence, secondly of economic predominance. To this end the full strength of the people was directed, ignorant as they were of the economic law behind their efforts. To accomplish their object several things were essential. First of all political independence, primarily of the margraves, secondarily of the Empire; this was achieved in 1162. Next, the unquestioned leadership of the Ligurian coast, and control of the passes into Lombardy; this also Barbarossa recognized long after it had been usurped. Thirdly, the acquisition and retention of varied, numerous markets in the West; this necessity was the basic cause of the Pisan wars which have seemed to be the central thread of early Genoese history. That warfare persisted intermittently for nearly two centuries, but it was only a single feature of the general plan, the constant expression of an idea frequently disclosed in other ways. The crushing of Ligurian independence, the shrewd diplomacy that won the markets of southern France and northern Africa, the bold daring that sought a permanent foothold in Moslem Spain by the conquest of Almeria and Tortosa, the attempt to erect a Sardinian puppet king, the haunting dream of the mastery of Sicily—all these were but expressions of the attempt to fulfill their economic destiny by securing the western complement to their Levantine prizes, not the futile struggles of unreasonable hatred and political incompetence.

From the religious and romantic impulse with which the Crusades began, the Genoese apparently were so free that to them the Crusaders were merely men to be carried to the East "*certo naulo*", maintained there by Genoese aid, in return for rewards and privileges of deep import.⁵ It would almost seem that to them, as later to the Venetians, the Crusade was a matter of indifference except as it affected their material prosperity. A foothold somewhere in the Levant was absolutely essential to their mercantile life; in Constantinople, despite mighty efforts, they were unsuccessful, outstripped

I. 124; Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 65; C. R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography* (London, 1901), II. 422. The only basis for assuming a Genoese connection with the Levant earlier than the Crusade, is that Caffaro the annalist, a participant in the First Crusade, accepts the possibility of a Genoese ship having gone to Alexandria some time earlier. *Liberatio Orientis*, in *Fonti*, XI. 99.

⁵ Heyck, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

by the Venetians;⁶ in Alexandria their trade prospered periodically as circumstances over which they had little control allowed.⁷ In Syria their foothold was secure, not so assured as to be free from interruptions, caused either by their over-exertion in the West, or by the misfortunes of Christian dominion in Syria, but secure enough to supply the real basis of their growing commerce. By the fall of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade the Genoese efforts were perforce concentrated in Syria, where a new epoch of commercial prosperity was opened to them. By that time the markets of the West had been acquired, and Genoa had become the leading centre of exchange west of the Adriatic. The era of experiment and transition was ended.

Viewing the century of Genoese effort from 1097 to 1205 as a whole, one may observe several distinct stages through all of which the Levantine trade runs as a dominant motive impelling the young commune to thought and activity, meeting advances and checks contingent upon the successes and failures to which it gave the impulse. The first stage, from 1097 to 1154, is characterized by the exuberance of the first enthusiasm, producing most of the main lines of later development, but closing with five years of serious economic depression, the result of over-exertion. The second stage, 1154 to 1164, is that in which the revived trade with Syria prospered in accordance with the highest expectation and enabled the Genoese to throw their commerce like a great net over all the western sea. Like the earlier period it ended in a catastrophe, owing to a mad effort in Sardinia, which threw the commune into debt, a civil war, and a long struggle with Pisa. From those disorders Genoa had not yet recovered when the Lombard wars stilled all thought of extension abroad, to be followed by the collapse of the Christian power in Syria before the strength of Saladin. With the Third Crusade, into which the Genoese plunged with their full strength, that the source of their commercial prosperity might be regained and rebuilt, began the last stage, characterized by expansive tendencies which clearly foretold the triumphs of the thirteenth century.

While the notarial archives enable us to observe details best in the second and last stages, those of greatest activity, one may say that the first stage, from 1097 to 1154, was formative, a period of political organization at home, of conquest abroad. The period begins, under the stimulus of the First Crusade, with the formation of the commune itself just before 1097—a *compagna* of all the arms-

⁶ Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 228 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

bearing men, and a body of elective consuls.⁸ In the next thirteen years Genoa sent forth six armed fleets to Syria, varying in size from two to sixty galleys.⁹ More than either Pisa or Venice, Genoa shared in the conquest and occupation of the towns along the Syrian riviera; the colonial and commercial privileges given as rewards were magnificent. Churches, warehouses, dwellings, ovens, gardens, orchards, freedom from dues, shares in the taxes, in every town of importance except Tyre, fell to their lot, with the whole town of Gibilet.¹⁰ All were granted in common to the commune and to the cathedral of San Lorenzo, whose bishop was still one of the powers in Genoa to whom the commune looked for leadership before the world and for protection at home against the remnants of the feudal powers of the margraves. These possessions were not all held permanently, for the crusading powers made promises and broke them easily, yet enough was retained of what was granted in the charters to afford the opportunity for colonial experiments and to furnish a commercial base demanding complementary efforts in the West. For that, the young commune's ambitious leaders were ready, but as events proved not always judiciously restrained.

Their operations in the West were varied but coherent. In Syria the Genoese had co-operated with the leaders of the crusaders from southern France. The friendly relations there established were continued in the West. In 1109 an advantageous commercial treaty was arranged with Bertram of St. Gilles, followed by a series of similar agreements which threw open to the Genoese the trade of Narbonne, Marseilles, and Montpellier.¹¹ Armed expeditions were sent to northern Africa; Tunis, Bougie, and Ceuta were opened to Genoese traders.¹² Fifteen years of warfare with Pisa, 1118-1133, were a costly effort, with half of Corsica and the erection of the Genoese archbishopric as the ends achieved.¹³ The subjection of the Riviera from Portovenere to Monaco was carried forward, partly by arms, partly by diplomacy. The margraves and counts of Liguria were forced to join the *compagna*. The mountain passes into Lombardy were secured, and an advantageous commercial treaty with Pavia was signed. An agreement was entered into with Lucca that

⁸ *Annales*, I. 5; Heyck, *op. cit.*, p. 21 ff.; Sieveking, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-21.

⁹ *Annales*, I. 5, 13, 14, 15, 102, 110, 112.

¹⁰ Heyd, *op. cit.*, I. 133 ff.; Schaube, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-129.

¹¹ *Liber Jurium Reipublicae Genuensis (Historiae Patriae Monumenta)*, VII., Turin, 1854), I., nos. 12, 31, 45.

¹² *Annales*, I. 28, 29; Schaube, *op. cit.*, pp. 278, 280.

¹³ M. G. Canale, *Nuova Istoria della Repubblica di Genova* (Florence, 1858), I. 108-117.

the carrying trade between Lucca and the fairs of the North might rest profitably in Genoese hands.¹⁴ The climax to this westward expansion in the search for markets came between 1146 and 1149, in Spain. Valencia was successfully penetrated by Genoese diplomacy, and attacks were made on the Saracen power in the Balearic Islands, but only as a prelude to the expedition which conquered Almeria in 1147 under the leadership of the consuls themselves, and from which the booty was immense. Part of the expedition wintered in Spain, so that with further aid from Genoa and the new ally, the Count of Barcelona, a most disastrously expensive attack upon Tortosa was made.¹⁵ The resources of the commune, long overtaxed, were at last exhausted; for five years it groaned under the burden of enormous debts. The brilliant leaders who had directed a remarkable series of expansive thrusts were driven from office. Over eight thousand lire were borrowed in Piacenza.¹⁶ Incomes, castles, colonies were mortgaged for fractions of their real value.¹⁷ Five years of depression, and of failure on the part of the new consuls, ensued, until some of the former leaders were induced in 1154 to reassume the direction of the government, under popular compulsion, real or inspired, and with the archiepiscopal promise of absolution for their past mismanagement.¹⁸

In the course of the period sketched above a definite commercial policy was being formulated. The Genoese sought to make their city the staple town of the northern half of the western Mediterranean, a *mare clausum* of their own like the Adriatic of the Venetians. Ligurian ships between April and October must depart from and return to Genoa, if engaged in any but the coastal trade.¹⁹ In this way the precious trade with the East, the real basis of all their commerce, was assured to the Genoese alone. Naturally, in the search for markets, exclusive privileges were obtained by treaty as protection against Pisan competition.²⁰ Thus did the directors of Genoese affairs succeed in clearing the way for a western outlet to the products of the eastern trade.

¹⁴ G. Caro, *Die Verfassung Genuas zur Zeit des Podestat* (Strasburg, 1891), pp. 12-14; *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 47, 63, 64, 93, 188.

¹⁵ *Annales*, I. 33-36, 79-89; *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 124, 152.

¹⁶ *Annales*, I. 37-38; Sieveking, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁷ "In maxima necessitate communis". *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 135, 146, 150, 159, 162, 178, 184, 196, 197, 198, 200.

¹⁸ *Annales*, I. 37-38. For the five years of depression, 1149 to 1153, the chronicler gives no information beyond the names of the consuls.

¹⁹ *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 187; Caro, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

²⁰ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 189-192, 298-299, 312, 324.

The ten years 1154-1164 constitute the most prosperous decade commercially and in many ways the most significant politically in the history of Genoa in the twelfth century. The finances were reorganized by the group of men who were gradually restored to power after 1154. Having paid more than 15,000 lire in 1154 to the creditors of the commune, chiefly bankers of Piacenza, by 1160 the consuls had freed the city from debt.²¹ The castles, customs, mint, weights and measures, and other sources of revenue were for the most part redeemed; the consuls pledged themselves solemnly in the *Parlamentum*, or assembly of the people, not to mortgage the revenues again beyond the year of their term of office.²² New agreements were made with the Embriaco family for the administration of the Syrian colonies for twenty-nine years.²³ Barbarossa was so skillfully dealt with by the representatives of the city while the construction of the new wall was hastened, that in 1162 he not only legalized the rights of autonomy and of control over Liguria which the city had usurped, but entered into an agreement with them for the conquest of Sicily²⁴—a tempting project, the collapse of which was shortly to lead the prosperous commune once more to disaster, as in 1149.

It was in this decade that the Genoese reaped richly the first reward of their efforts in Syria and of the opening of the western markets. Six mercantile ventures were sent from Genoa to Syria in as many years,²⁵ with a total investment of over 10,000 lire in money and wares.²⁶ From Genoa the proceeds were shipped to France,

²¹ *Annales*, I, 38, 60; *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 195, 202-208.

²² *Annales*, I, 41; *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 212.

²³ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 196-198.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 236-238.

²⁵ In 1156, 1157, 1158, 1160, 1161, and 1164. E. H. Byrne, "Commercial Contracts of the Genoese in the Syrian Trade of the Twelfth Century", in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXXI, 132.

²⁶ This amount, 10,075 lire, is the sum of the investments for the Syrian trade given by the acts of the notary Giovanni Scriba, *Historiae Patriae Monumenta*, VI., *Chartarum* II., nos. 240-1513. In making the total, only such amounts were used as are there specified for Syria. It is therefore a minimum, but undoubtedly fairly accurate since the investors were careful to stipulate the destination in most eastern enterprises. It would be futile to attempt to compute the value of this sum in modern terms. For the value and fluctuation of the Genoese lira or *libra*, of 20 uncoined soldi or 240 denarii, see C. Desimoni, "Le Prime Monete d'Argento della Zecca di Genova ed il loro Valore, 1139-1493", in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, XIX, 198. More significant for the purpose of this article is the purchasing power of the lira in the twelfth century, of which some idea is conveyed by the following illustrations. In 1158, the annual interest on 16 lire provided the food and clothing of a young boy for a year. *Chart.* II.,

Spain, the Balearics, Ceuta, Bougie, Tunis, Sicily, Salerno, Naples, Rome, Sardinia, and Corsica.²⁷ The conditions under which this wide-spread commerce was conducted are of high importance in the study of the rise to maturity of a medieval commercial city.

One of the most interesting features of the Levant trade in this decade, as I have elsewhere shown, was that at just this point the controlling interest in it was passing from the hands of the Syrians and Jews who had been the purveyors of eastern goods throughout the West for centuries, into the hands of the Genoese capitalists.²⁸ This same change must have occurred elsewhere in the course of the twelfth century, but it can only be traced in Genoa where the records for the period are fairly complete. It would seem that the small but important colony of easterners domiciled and naturalized in Genoa, familiar with all the intricacies of the trade to which the Genoese were new, continued to act as directors of the exchange after the appearance of the Genoese as traders in the wake of the Crusade, until, by the middle of the century, the Genoese were steadily pushing them aside for their own greater profit. In the decade under review this transition was just completed, and a small group of five Genoese families—della Volta, Burone, Mallone, Usodimare, and Vento, associated with whom were an able and wealthy

no. 777. Two and a half lire furnished the food of an adult man for a year. *Ibid.*, no. 679. The wages of seamen for the voyage to the Levant and return, about nine months, varied from 3½ to 5 lire; the wages of a captain for the same voyage were about 10 lire. *Chart. II.*, no. 795; Archivio di Stato di Genova, Atti del Notaio Lanfranco, Registro I., f. 59; Notaio Guglielmo Cassinese, ff. 10 v., 11. It cost 8½ lire to hire three men to calk a ship, preparatory to the eastern voyage in one instance; 13 denarii (.054 lire) a day for three men to do the same work, furnishing all the materials, in another. *Chart. II.*, no. 795; Not. Lanfr., I. f. 167. The expenses of a factor going to Syria in 1190 were estimated at one-half to one lira a month. Not. Lanfr., I. f. 91 v. The price of Saracen slaves varied from about 3 to 8 lire, according to age and sex. *Chart. II.*, nos. 294, 1005, 1051; Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 45 v., 46, 60, etc.; Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 86. Mules ranged in price from 4 to 15 lire. *Chart. II.*, no. 772; Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 52 v., 53, 134; Not. Ignoti, f. 112 v. A mule could be hired for the journey from Genoa to Santiago di Compostella and return for 3 lire. Ferretto, *Doc. Gen. di Novi e Valle Scrivia* (Asti, 1909), I., doc. 220. A horse was worth about 12 lire. Not. Lanfr., reg. II., pt. I., f. 6 v. A hundred lire would purchase 1000 goat skins, and 150 lire a galley. Not. Ign., f. 20; Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 177. The man of legal training and of noble birth sent to Syria by the Embriachi in 1200 to manage their concessions in Acre, was given a salary of about 75 lire per annum. Not. Ign., f. 160. These illustrations are interesting when compared with Schaube's estimate in 1906 that the Genoese lira was the equivalent of 20 to 24 Reichsmark. *Handelsgeschichte*, appendix.

²⁷ *Chart. II.*, *passim*.

²⁸ "Easterners in Genoa", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XXXVIII, 176-187.

Syrian, Ribaldo di Saraphia, and a Jew, Blancardo, fine types of the Syrian and Jewish merchants of the previous epoch²⁹—practically monopolized the trade with Syria. These families, represented in most cases by a single individual, so dominated the six ventures to Syria in these ten years that aside from their investments and those of the two men mentioned above, less than twenty other persons were able to invest in the trade. Of these only three invested in more than one voyage;³⁰ the others, two of whom were women and one a priest, each invested once.³¹ The sum of these scattered investments was about 2100 lire out of a total of about 10,000 lire, a fair share in appearance, but all of which was invested through the great leaders or their factors in such a manner as to contribute to the profits of the masters of the trade by reducing their operating expenses per lira.

These five families were enabled to assert and to maintain their domination over Genoa's richest trade through a combination of economic and political conditions in Genoa which throw an interesting light on twelfth-century trade.

In the stage of development which Genoa had reached by the middle of the twelfth century, money was not plentiful; dowries, purchases, and even communal loans were still being drawn in terms of articles of trade, principally spices and dye-materials from the Levant.³² These wares could only be obtained from the East by exports of gold and silver. The only classes in Genoa which had a large ready surplus for investment were: first, the landed nobility, who were able to turn their revenues from land into money by sales of their produce, or possessed the right to collect in money as well

²⁹ For the detailed careers of Saraphia and Blancardo, *ibid.*, pp. 181-184.

³⁰ Guglielmo Filardo invested in two voyages, possibly in three, mainly through the Malloni and delle Volte, and at this time he arranged a marriage for his niece with one of the Usodimare family. *Chart. II.*, nos. 457, 472, 677, 752, 822. Guglielmo Aradello made two Syrian investments through the delle Volte. *Ibid.*, nos. 424, 664. The third of these investors was Eustachio, an agent and associate of the delle Volte. *Ibid.*, nos. 441, 663, 1104. All three were of the non-noble class, and though long established in Genoa, where they were closely associated with Syrians, Jews, and Greeks, they failed to increase their wealth in this period and cannot be traced after 1164.

³¹ Five were men of the consular nobility, Grillo, Picamiglio, Elia, Nebulone, and di Castello. *Chart. II.*, nos. 468, 1110, 1113, 1504. Three were from families of later prominence, Malfiliastro, di Sauro, and Capo di Gallo. *Ibid.*, nos. 484, 487, 673. The others are all obscure, except Stabile, a non-Christian broker and confidential agent for Saraphia, the Syrian. *Ibid.*, nos. 674, 1080, 1082, 1102, 1104, 1106, 1108, 1418.

³² *Chart. II.*, *passim*. Especially interesting is the payment to the bankers of Piacenza by the commune in 1154. *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 202.

as in kind the tolls, duties, and taxes at the harbor, gates, and passes leading to the interior; and secondly, the small merchant class of the previous epoch, mainly Syrians and Jews. The landed classes were constantly increasing their property by purchases, especially in years of economic distress, from the smaller landed proprietors in Genoa and the vicinity.³³ A third class of men was beginning to appear, engaged in a smaller way in the western distribution of the wares from the Genoese market, but they were unable at this time to compete with the great capitalists in the eastern trade. The insignificant industrial class in Genoa apparently did not yet produce a surplus beyond the needs of local consumption, nor were their products such as were demanded in Syria and could be exported in exchange for the precious goods from the sale of which in the West greater wealth could be produced. This economic phenomenon, common throughout southern Europe at the beginning of the Crusades, explains why, in general, participation in the Levant trade was limited to the landed classes.

However, this does not explain how so narrow a group of families, five in number, maintained a grasp on all but twenty per cent. of the bulk of the trade. The explanation for this lies in the peculiarly favorable position occupied by the larger group of families known as Visconti, to which three of the five families above mentioned belonged either by ancient right or by marriage.³⁴ The Visconti were those families, only one of which still bore that name, who were descended from Ido *Vicecomes* of the tenth century; the *vicecomites* or *visconti* were formerly the officials of the margraves of Liguria, to whom they owed feudal allegiance in return for the enjoyment of the military and financial rights over the city and over

³³ *Chart. II., passim.*

³⁴ For the Visconti and their privileges, see Desimoni, *Atti della Soc. Lig.*, I. 113, 128 ff.; L. T. Belgrano, *ibid.*, vol. II., pt. I., p. 314, and tab. XIX. ff., in app. to pt. I.; Sieveking, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff. The Usodimari were Visconti in origin. Belgrano, tab. XXVI. Two of Ingo della Volta's daughters were married to the heads of the important Visconti families, Spinula and di Castello. *Chart. II.*, no. 349; *Annales*, I. 214. Guglielmo Burone was a brother of Ingo della Volta. Belgrano, tab. XXXIX. The Venti were associated with the *delle Volte* as collectors of the archiepiscopal revenues in the Bisagno valley, and Guglielmo Vento's son was married to the daughter of the head of the Pevero family, one of the most powerful Visconti. Belgrano, "Registrum Curiae Archiepiscopalis Januae", in *Atti della Soc. Lig.*, vol. II., pt. II., pp. 21, 24; *Chart. II.*, no. 364. The daughter of Ugo Mallone was married to a Visconti, di Castello, while Ido Mallone, more active in the Syrian trade, but whose relationship to the head of the family is not clear, was able to invest only as factor for Guglielmo Burone. *Chart. II.*, no. 799. *Ibid.*, nos. 329, 619, 923, 1013, 1115.

Liguria. These feudal rights the Visconti converted into private possessions in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries by alliance of their personal strength with the bishop and the rising communal spirit, of which the crusading expeditions were the first successful expression. The Visconti privileges consisted mainly of the right to collect the taxes and tolls, at the harbor, gates, passes, and at the city markets, important incomes in kind and in money which were hereditary among them. These incomes were apportioned among the Visconti families, on what basis is not clear. It was unquestionably owing to their membership in this privileged class that the Embriaco family had secured the administration of the Syrian colonies and the collection of colonial revenues patterned after those of the Visconti in Genoa itself; whether or not the Embriachi surrendered privileges in Genoa cannot be said.

Thus at both ends of the Syrian trade the Visconti were in a position of great influence and power, economic and political. It would be quite possible for the Visconti to afford special commercial opportunities to their relatives and adherents both in Genoa and in Syria, of such a character as to exclude those commercial rivals whom the Usodimari, delle Volte, etc., desired to shut out; just as the leading Visconti were able to abrogate the rights of certain other Visconti,³⁵ and to utilize the growing strength of the commune for the maintenance of their privileges against the margraves. That some such division of the commercial and financial opportunities had been made is further attested by the fact that the other Visconti refrained generally from engaging in the Syrian trade. Syria was left to the group led in Syria by the Embriachi, in Genoa by the delle Volte. Even the Embriachi did not actively participate in the Syrian trade as investors until toward the close of the twelfth century,³⁶ when their special rights had begun to wane and when the Visconti privileges were being generally attacked. The richest and steadiest source of supply upon which Genoese commercial prosperity was based, the trade with Syria, was in this way limited to a narrow group of feudal families, bent on maintaining their commercial supremacy through political domination in Genoa and in the colonies. The trade with Alexandria, on the other hand, although decreasing in volume as the Syrian trade increased, was open to all able to invest money abroad, for upon it the great families were not able to fasten their hold since they could not control the eastern

³⁵ *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 239.

³⁶ Between 1179 and 1200 they are found engaged in exports of cloth and money to Syria for the first time. *Not. Ign.*, ff. 5, 160, 160 v.

end, as in Syria, through the Visconti.³⁷ In Constantinople the Genoese footing was so insecure as to afford no such opportunities.³⁸

Here lies one explanation for the growth of the political factions in Genoa in the twelfth century, factions whose deadly feuds at times of crisis threw the city into terrific disorder. The attempt to apportion a commercial and financial supremacy led to economic rivalry and to the formation of political machines for the purpose of securing control over the consular elections. It would be the aim of all the factions to develop the economic possibilities of the commune to the highest degree and to reap the chief rewards for themselves. The mass of the people would benefit from the general increase in trade, without being allowed to share equally in the most profitable branch, the Syrian trade. In the years 1154-1164 the dominant political faction was led by the man whose Syrian investments were the largest of the period—Ingo della Volta, the head of the family of that name, a man of great wealth and energy, father-in-law to the heads of two leading Visconti families. This group, which may be called the della Volta faction, had led the Spanish expeditions of 1147-1149, was driven from office as the penalty of their failure, and had been restored to consular power after the serious depressions of the years 1149-1154.³⁹ In the ten succeeding years, Ingo della Volta, whose wealth increased enormously through the Syrian trade, built

³⁷ The acts of the notary Giovanni Scriba, *Chart. II.*, disclose nearly a hundred individuals engaged in the Alexandrian trade between 1156 and 1164; most of them are of families of lesser prominence, investing smaller sums, although the great families also participated. The relative importance of the two streams of trade in these years, indicative of the increasing significance of that with Syria, will be seen from the following table, compiled from the acts of Scriba. I have been unable as yet to follow the Alexandrian trade after 1164.

Anno	Syria (lire)	Alexandria (lire)
1156	545	1,871
1157	2,074	1,804
1158	2,394	1,307
1160	1,550	1,395
1161	1,988	1,770
1164	1,524	884
	10,075	9,031

³⁸ The total volume from Scriba's acts is only 2007 lire. The trade ceased completely in 1162 after the Pisan attack upon the Genoese there, except for what Stabile, and Blancardo the Jew's brother, Raimondo Capellano, were able to invest there. *Chart. II.*, nos. 1468, 1469, 1506. Cf. Heyd, *op. cit.*, I. 204; Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 229.

³⁹ The names of the men holding consular office in 1147-1148 do not again appear in the lists of consuls until 1154, except that of the annalist, Oberto Cancellario. After 1154 they rapidly re-established their power. See the lists of consuls in the *Annales* for each year and in Canale, *op. cit.*, I. 412 ff.

up a machine which dominated the consulship, restored the city to unusual prosperity, sent commercial embassies far and wide, asserted successfully Genoese independence of the Emperor, and in 1163 extended its influence into the ecclesiastical field through the election of Ugo della Volta as archbishop.⁴⁰ The downfall of this faction in 1164 was one of the dramatic events in Genoese twelfth-century history and was brought about, as once before, in 1150, by excessive ambition for commercial expansion, which again strained the economic resources of the commune to the breaking-point and ruined the Levantine trade for many years.

Della Volta was by tradition and experience an expansionist. One of his family on the First Crusade had shared the credit for the Genoese victories in Syria;⁴¹ he himself had been one of the chief participants in the Spanish expeditions.⁴² Between 1154 and 1164 he reached the height of his commercial and political power.⁴³ At the head of the Genoese embassy to Barbarossa in 1162, he negotiated the treaty of alliance with the Emperor for the conquest of Sicily.⁴⁴ To that project his faction sacrificed their richest trade; no voyages to the Levant were made in 1162 or 1163, and all efforts were concentrated on the Sicilian preparations. In 1164, when all was ready, Barbarossa twice postponed a decisive answer to the importunate Genoese.⁴⁵ The della Volta faction was in a precarious position: the Syrian trade had been sacrificed, the new colony in Constantinople had been destroyed by the Pisans in 1162 with great financial losses, a brief war with Pisa had resulted therefrom,⁴⁶ and now the Sicilian dream was fading. Rumblings of discontent were heard in the city. In despair they grasped wildly at a scheme for the addition of Sardinia to their commercial empire in the attempt to erect there under Genoese tutelage a kingdom from which Pisan trade should be excluded, the Genoese to be masters of the whole island with the crafty Barisone, one of the four judges who ruled the island, as king.⁴⁷ The preliminary plans and bribes were arranged in the camera of the archbishop Ugo della Volta, with Ingo and

⁴⁰ *Annales*, I. 75; Canale, *op. cit.*, I. 411.

⁴¹ *Annales*, I. 118.

⁴² *Ibid.*, I. 35, 80; Canale, *op. cit.*, I. 135.

⁴³ For the della Volta-Spinola control over the consulate, see Canale's consular lists, *op. cit.*, I. 414-415. In 1161, when Ingo's son and son-in-law were consuls, the houses and towers of their opponents were destroyed. *Annales*, I. 61.

⁴⁴ *Annales*, I. 65-66; *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 238.

⁴⁵ *Annales*, I. 157 ff.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 67 ff.

⁴⁷ Canale, *op. cit.*, I. 168 ff.

another of the family present,⁴⁸ and were continued at the court of the Emperor in Lombardy, where Barisone's agent was seeking the crown of Sardinia. The consuls lent Barisone 4000 marks to pay the Emperor for the crown; to raise this sum they mortgaged the communal revenues and possessions at usurious rates. Barisone borrowed vast sums from individuals in Genoa. The expedition sent to Sardinia was a failure and led to a renewal of the war with Pisa. Barisone, fetched from Sardinia, was placed in the charge of the nobles to whom he was indebted, to linger in Genoa for many years as a hostage, a hopeless debtor and embarrassing guest.⁴⁹

In Genoa the anger at the della Volta faction was profound. They had grown rich in a trade in which all were not allowed to share. They had restored the commune to prosperity after the Spanish troubles for which they had been held responsible, only to involve it in elaborately expensive schemes for the conquest of Sicily and Sardinia, the failure of which had brought commercial ruin and enormous debts. In September, 1164, Marchio della Volta, consul and son of Ingo, was murdered; civil war followed and for five years absorbed all the energy of the commune.⁵⁰ The consuls dared not call the *Parlamentum* lest the people should rise in arms against them; unwilling to convoke the *Consilium*, they contemplated retention of office and of power by force, the erection of a despotism. The della Volta archbishop was at last forced to intervene; elections were held and the della Volta faction was once more overthrown. The *Consilium* decreed that consuls should never hold office longer than one year, and that on leaving office they should rank merely as private citizens. The delle Volte were ruined, their towers and houses seized, and soldiers quartered upon them. With them suffered the Venti, Buroni, Malloni, and others whose wealth had grown on the Syrian trade. Five years of civil war, and war with Pisa prolonged to 1175, nearly destroyed the Levantine commerce.⁵¹ The reconstruction of Genoese prosperity took place under other auspices and under different conditions.

In the decade of their political and commercial supremacy the families of the della Volta faction poured the revenues from their

⁴⁸ *Chart. II.*, no. 1466.

⁴⁹ Canale, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁰ *Annales*, I. 168 ff.

⁵¹ No records of voyages to the Levant have been found in the archives for the years 1165-1178. The *Annales* however, I. 200, 206, 214, 229, state for the years 1166-1169, that despite the civil troubles, "naves laboratum iuverunt". Not until 1177 were peace and prosperity restored and the normal commercial life possible again. *Ibid.*, II. 11-12.

landed possessions and their shares in the feudal privileges into the Syrian trade. The profits from the sales of eastern wares in Genoa and throughout the West were in turn used to increase their investments in Syria and also their landed holdings in Genoa. They became wholesale importers and exporters operating through men of lesser rank and means. Their activities illustrate the early use alike of landed income and of feudal privileges as economic commodities, and disclose the importance of the wholesale trade as a means of making money with money, for most of them were growing richer very fast in these years. An illustration from each of the great families will make these points clear.

Ingo della Volta owned one-eighteenth of the salt monopoly; his meadows, pastures, mills, etc., in Sturla alone in 1157 were valued at 1000 lire. He regularly maintained as his agents in voyages to Syria two associates, Opizo Amico Clerico and Ingo Nocenzio. Possessed of his full confidence, they occasionally transferred portions of his capital to other factors and shipowners. As many as three subordinates were thus employed in 1160 in the distribution of Syrian wares in the West. In the absence of his regular agents abroad, della Volta used other factors going to Syria, though his arrangements with Clerico and Nocenzio were so stable and sufficient for his purposes that he seldom entered into other partnerships. The partnership with Nocenzio originally amounted to 300 lire, just previous to 1156; in 1157, della Volta's share alone was 410 lire, while in 1160 it was 689 lire in a total of 1199 lire, the largest fund of its kind in Genoa. The association with Clerico mounted from 484 lire in 1156 to 753 lire in 1160. In both cases expenses were paid and profits withdrawn at intervals according to the needs or desires of the associates. In 1160 della Volta's foreign investments, all founded on his Syrian interests, amounted to 1562 lire as compared with 623 lire in 1156. Throughout the period he supported his son Marchio, a shipowner with casual Syrian interests, in trade to Alexandria, Byzantium, and Spain, and his own agents were selling eastern wares in Sicily, Provence, and northern Africa. The elder della Volta did not noticeably increase his landed holdings, but utilized his commercial gains for political ends. His son Marchio, on the other hand, bought houses in Genoa in this period worth 379 lire and lent 200 lire in pepper to the commune. The delle Volte retrenched markedly after the negotiation of the treaty with Barbarossa in 1162 for the conquest of Sicily, where their trade had long been important. From this project, as from the ill-fated Sardinian scheme of 1164, they had doubtless expected handsome re-

turns to which their eastern profits were to be momentarily sacrificed. Marchio's murder and his father's downfall put an end for many years to the power of this family whose career in politics and commerce embraced so much of Genoese twelfth-century effort.⁵²

Second only to della Volta in the importance of his Syrian investments was Baldissonne Usodimare. He was one of della Volta's associates in the Spanish events of 1146-1149, came into political power with his faction as consul in 1154, and participated in all the negotiations with the Emperor in the following years, as in the plans for the conquest of Sicily and Sardinia. His chief interest was in the triangular trade between Genoa, Syria, and Provence. Oberto of Lucca, domiciled in Genoa, was his agent in this trade for many years. Their original partnership of 264 lire amounted to more than 750 lire in 1159-1160, and reached 950 lire in 1164, when more than 700 lire were taken to Syria by Oberto, beyond stocks in Genoa worth 240 lire and profits deducted at intervals through all these years. Not only had Usodimare's wealth greatly increased, but he had enabled a younger man as his agent to acquire means and experience sufficient to raise him to the consulship in 1182.⁵³

The career of an older man in this group of investors, Guglielmo Burone, a brother of della Volta, is interesting. He had been a youthful crusader in 1127, and sixteen years later served in Syria as Genoese legate. A slave-owner, married to a wealthy woman, he was many times consul, and co-operated with Ingo della Volta in the critical negotiations with the Emperor in 1162. His first-hand knowledge of conditions in the Levant was unique among his friends of the della Volta faction. He invested in four out of the six Syrian voyages of the decade 1154-1164, to the amount of 1233 lire, and sent lesser sums to Alexandria and Constantinople. Agents were maintained by him in Syria for two and three years at a time, while others were sent to France, Spain, Bougie, and Ceuta with the proceeds. From the profits he enlarged his holdings in Genoa regularly; in 1158 alone he bought eight houses for 250 lire. He must have suffered from the collapse of the faction in 1164, since he was so closely identified with its interests as to represent it officially in the famous reconciliation of 1170. In the same year, after forty-three years of public life and a singularly active share in the erection

⁵² The important references for Ingo are: *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 178; *Chart.* II., nos. 304, 424, 530, 955, 958, among many others. For Marchio, *Chart.* II., nos. 563, 661, 1081, 1155, 1325.

⁵³ Important references: *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 124; *Annales*, I. 37, 49, 71, 157; *Chart.* II., nos. 775, 957, 1189, 1473. Oberto di Lucca was consul in 1182, 1184, 1197. *Annales*, II. 17, 19, 71.

of Genoese power in Syria, he was one of the Genoese chosen to escort the Byzantine ambassador from Terracina to Genoa when it was vainly hoped that the Byzantine trade might be reopened—a last tribute to his knowledge of the Levant.⁵⁴

The active member of the wealthy Vento family, later important international bankers, who held the lease of the Genoese mint, shared in the salt monopoly and in the collection of taxes, was Guglielmo, many times consul and ambassador. His interests were about evenly divided between Syria and Alexandria. In 1156 he sent an agent to Syria with 300 lire; the results of this investment cannot be followed directly, since the agent apparently remained in Syria, possibly acting under the direction of Vento's grandnephew, who represented him in the Levant at this time and to whom he made remittances. As time went on he sent other sums to Syria, and factors to Sardinia, Sicily, Spain, and Africa with exports of cinnamon, pepper, and dye-woods. Year by year he bought land, mills, aqueducts, and houses in Genoa. Regarded by his family connections as financial adviser, his efforts materially increased their importance.⁵⁵

The last of the great families with Syrian connections in this period was the Malloni. In this instance the head of the family, Ansaldo, one of the old leaders of the della Volta faction,⁵⁶ took no active part in the investments in this decade at least. He may well have done so in earlier years, since of all these families the younger Malloni participated most often in the Syrian trade by journeys to the Levant. The Malloni were clearly not possessed of such great means as their friends. They were associated in trade on the one hand with Guglielmo Burone, on the other with Guglielmo Filardo, a man of lower rank than they, but of considerable means and wide knowledge of the Levant, possibly a Syrian or Jew. In both relationships the Malloni contributed the smaller amounts of capital. Ugo, son of Ansaldo Mallone, sent one son, Rubaldo, to Syria and one to Sicily as agents for himself and Filardo in 1157; Rubaldo remained in Syria for two years and soon after his return departed in the same service for two years more.⁵⁷ By the time he was in

⁵⁴ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 20, 95, 124; *Annales*, I. 28, 35, 45, 64, 65, 231, 235; *Chart.* II., nos. 293, 322, 329, 331, 355, 426, 474, 619, 668, 724, 725, 846, 882, 892, 893, 909, 923, 969, 1013, 1115. Testament of Alda, his wife, disposing of many lire, silks, jewels, and a psalter. *Ibid.*, no. 399.

⁵⁵ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 144, 150, 154, 178; *Annales*, I. 32, 36, 46-47, 65; II. 10-11; *Chart.* II., nos. 328, 347, 354, 364, 404, 471, 473, 505, 580, 584, 600, 617, 636, 740, 794, 932, 939, 940, 1085, 1093, 1098, 1102, 1219, 1354, 1355, 1375, 1410, 1436, 1500, 1502.

⁵⁶ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 124, 162, 166. He was eight times consul between 1133 and 1159, and legate to Byzantium in 1164. *Annales*, I. 167.

⁵⁷ *Chart.* II., nos. 457, 486, 792, 822.

Genoa again, the della Volta catastrophe had occurred, so it is impossible to trace his fortunes. Another young member of the family, Ido, in partnership with Burone achieved more evident success. In 1156 he first went to the Levant for Burone, to be absent two years. Soon after his reappearance in Genoa in 1158 he set forth again for a similar period of trading in Syria and northern Africa. With the proceeds of this voyage he went to France in January, 1161, laden with eastern cloth and cinnamon; by August he was once more in Genoa, where a renewed partnership with Burone for a third voyage to Syria and a commission to collect a debt owed to Conrad of Chiavari by the King of Jerusalem, furnished him with the means for his most prosperous venture. In five years his investment in this trade had increased from 134½ to 488 lire, aside from his expenses abroad for the whole period. Then he too is swallowed up in the collapse of 1164 and is heard of no more in the records until the house of his son was destroyed by the commune, and the gold, silver, and jewels therein confiscated, in 1196, in punishment of an attempt to violate the trade laws.⁵⁸

It is evident from what has been said above that none of the great Genoese capitalists, and only occasionally their sons or nephews, went to Syria in a mercantile capacity. For the most part the actual operations were conducted by an interesting class of professional factors or agents, men with first-hand knowledge of the East, its customs and tongues, upon whom the great families were dependent for skill and guidance. Some of these agents were undoubtedly Syrians and Jews; others were foreigners domiciled in Genoa, whose names and associates suggest the existence of a considerable colony of skilled traders, such as had previously furnished the commercial link between East and West.⁵⁹ Some were itinerant peddlers who flit across the scene but once in a decade. Many were Genoese engaged in mastering the details of the trade, acquiring wealth through their associations with the landed capitalists, making frequent trips, and slowly building up a middle class of the pure merchant type. Considerable wealth was acquired by some of these factors in this period. An agent of the della Volta family, Ingo Nocenzio, is a good example. Nocenzio made at least two voyages to Syria, spent several years there, and also directed for della Volta the sale in the West of the imports from Syria. His trade capital increased tenfold in these prosperous years, quite aside from such profits and

⁵⁸ *Chart. II.*, nos. 329, 619, 914, 915, 923, 1013, 1108, 1115; *Annales*, II. 61.

⁵⁹ "Easterners in Genoa", *loc. cit.* Maiomono, Merlo of Lucca, Ugo di Pavia, Suplicio di Verdun, Ogerio Ascherio Aguxino, etc. *Chart. II.*, nos. 1108, 907, 1102, 1499, 441.

expenses as were paid to him in the meantime.⁶⁰ Oberto of Lucca's original investment of 86 lire with Usodimare in ten years increased to more than 300 lire, though he had withdrawn 383 lire in profits.⁶¹ Alvernacio, a skipper and factor in Genoa for short intervals between his Levantine voyages, had 75 lire invested in a ship in 1156. By 1164 he owned a mill in Genoa, land on the water-front, and paid a dowry of 140 lire for his daughter, a handsome *dot* in that age.⁶² The methods by which the Syrian, Ribaldo di Saraphia, built up a capital fund of more than 700 lire in the Syrian trade, through his personal knowledge of Syria and his shrewdness as an administrator of the estates of minors, I have elsewhere described in detail, as also the career of Blancardo the Jew, second only to Ingo della Volta in capital invested abroad.⁶³ Often enough, on the other hand, the factors depart for Syria, are heard of no more in Genoa, but remain in the East as Genoese colonists. It is probable that many of them took this way of earning their passage eastward and enough to begin life there in a congenial field.

Between the collapse of 1164 and the Third Crusade in 1187, the Syrian trade must have suffered severely.⁶⁴ The debts incurred in 1164, the resultant taxation, the war with Pisa, the disturbances created by the strife between the Emperor and the Lombard League—all were made more difficult to meet by the terrible struggle between factions for the control of the government and by the gathering wrath of the wider ranks of the landed and trading classes.⁶⁵ In the course of these troubles it was only with difficulty that control of the Syrian colonies was maintained.⁶⁶ No sooner was financial and political order partially restored than the successes of Saladin wiped out the Genoese colonies in the Christian disasters in Syria.

⁶⁰ *Chart. II.*, nos. 359, 424-425, 790, 805, 955, 963, 1364-1365, 1406, 1412. Sibilia, née Nocenzio, in 1156 made a will leaving handsome bequests, and making Saraphia the Syrian her executor instead of her husband, suggesting a possible Syrian origin of the family. *Ibid.*, no. 283. In 1191 Rogerio Nocenzio sent 402 lire to Syria; his widow Mabilia in 1203 was still interested in the trade. *Not. Gugl. Cass.*, ff. 53, 212. With patience and time the careers of dozens of these factors and their families can be followed for generations. The accumulation of a mass of such material will throw valuable light on the social changes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

⁶¹ See above, note 53.

⁶² *Chart. II.*, nos. 345, 359, 955, 1149, 1398.

⁶³ "Easterners in Genoa", *loc. cit.*

⁶⁴ The archives disclose records of voyages in 1179, 1182, 1184, 1186. *Not. Ign.*, ff. 3, 6, 12, 15, 17, 20, 21; *Not. Lanfr.*, I. ff. 1, 130 ff., 95 ff.

⁶⁵ Canale, *op. cit.*, I. 191 ff.

⁶⁶ Letters of Alexander III. and Urban III. on behalf of the Genoese in Syria. *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 320-322, 345-356.

The permanent downfall of the Christian power in Syria would have spelled the ruin of Genoese prosperity. All the force of the Genoese leaders was thrown into the Third Crusade,⁶⁷ and from the rebuilding of the crusaders' states the Genoese profited richly through concessions more liberal than before.⁶⁸ But in these eventful years great changes become visible in Genoa. The absence of the former leaders on the Crusade was utilized by the wider ranks of the nobility to overthrow the consulate in 1190 in favor of a Podestà who should govern in the communal spirit, not in the interest of a faction.⁶⁹ In Syria the new charters to the Genoese were drawn in the name of the commune alone, not in that of the archbishop and commune. Although the Embriachi were allowed to continue as administrators of the Syrian possessions, they were supervised by consuls and *vicecomites* resident in Syria, appointed by the home government.⁷⁰ As early as 1168, foreseeing the possible trend of events after the quasi-revolution of 1164, the Embriachi had solemnly declared the trade of Gibilet, probably of the other colonies, free to all Genoese citizens, and also to all residents of the entire archbishopric.⁷¹ They were ready to meet the demands of the commune that the Syrian trade should be free, if they might be allowed to remain in control of the colonies even under supervision.

In the Podestà the people had a leader in the fight against feudal and commercial privilege. The feudal families, engaged in a desperate struggle to maintain their political grasp, led now by the son-in-law of Ingo della Volta, Fulco di Castello, were forced to sacrifice their trading interests. Except when departing for Syria in the large crusading expeditions, they were henceforth not often able to participate in the Syrian investments.⁷² The great bulk of

⁶⁷ *Annales*, I. 29, 30-31, 32-33, 36.

⁶⁸ Heyd, *op. cit.*, I. 310 ff.; Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ff.

⁶⁹ *Annales*, I. 33, 36-37; Caro, *Verfassung Genuas*, p. 33 ff.; Heyck, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁷⁰ Heyd, *op. cit.*, I. 332-333.

⁷¹ *Lib. Jur.*, I., no. 256.

⁷² The delle Volte invested only three times—in 1186 (amounts illegible), 1191 (23 lire), 1205 (50 lire). Not. Lanfr., I. f. 96; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 57, 273 v. Adalesia, widow of Simone Vento, sent 50 lire in 1205. Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 250. Mallone investments, as a half-century previously, carried by younger members, not by other factors, are found in 1190 in amounts indeterminable, while in 1205 four members of the family sent 247 lire, by a fifth. Not. Lanfr., I. f. 93 v.; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 258, 267, 270. The di Castelli, so closely identified with the delle Volte, sent amounts varying from 50 to 334 lire. Not. Lanfr., I. f. 95; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 55, 212, 224, 269. The Embriachi, for the first time active investors, take or send sums of from 100 to 460 lire. Not. Ign., ff. 3, 160, 160 v., 161; Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 99. A single investment of the Buroni in 1190,

this rich trade passed into the hands of all Genoese with means to invest, regardless of rank or privilege. This significant change, first seen in the Embriaco agreement of 1168, is clearly visible in 1179 in the first voyage on record after the troubles begun in 1164, and is strikingly evident in all the voyages from that time on, particularly after the revolution of 1190. Hundreds of new names appear in the contracts—names of dozens of families of the lesser nobility, of scores of individuals whose status cannot now be fixed, men from the Ligurian riviera, from Lombardy and elsewhere, immigrants to Genoa, the founders of a new industrial life.⁷³ The deep social significance of this opportunity for the increase of wealth among the masses of the people was not fully felt until a half-century later when the masses rose in strength against the aristocracy as a whole.⁷⁴

It is not entirely possible to trace year by year the growth of the trade in the period from 1179 to 1206. Yet some comparisons with the earlier epoch will disclose the important changes. The total volume of the Syrian trade conducted in six voyages between 1156 and 1164 was slightly more than 10,000 lire. In single years of prosperity and peace in the later period, the yearly average for 1156-1164 was frequently surpassed, and in two instances the total for 1156-1164 was nearly reached in a single year: in 1191 the sum of two ventures, spring and fall, was 6900 lire, and for a single venture in 1205 the amount involved was 8000 lire.⁷⁵ In the earlier period four or five factors went to Syria on each voyage, representing barely more than a score of individual investments of the great families. For the autumn voyage of 1191 thirty-seven contracts involving over eighty individuals survive; for the autumn voyage of 1203 there are eighty contracts representing the interests of about two hundred investors. The largest venture of all, in the spring of 1205, is cov-

the amount unknown, completes the list of the old group, with the Usodimari missing. Not. Lanfr., I. f. 58. These figures are not quite complete, since some of the photographs sent me since 1914 are defective; other photographs of documents noted in 1914 have failed to arrive. Moreover, there may be a few documents dated between 1179 and 1205 in the records of other notaries which I have not been able to examine as yet. Even so, the point is clear that the old families had lost their control of the trade.

⁷³ It is impossible here to give any evidence of the sweeping character of this change without citing long lists of names. Only eventual publication of all the Syrian documents can make it clear to readers unfamiliar with Genoese families of the Middle Ages.

⁷⁴ Caro, *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer, 1257-1311* (Halle, 1895), ch. I.

⁷⁵ These are the totals for these years from the acts of Not. Gugl. Cass. They are the minima for reasons given above in note 72. The difficulties there cited forbid an estimate at present of the total volume for the later period.

ered by 132 contracts containing the names of over three hundred participants.⁷⁶ Sixteen voyages are recorded between 1179 and 1205; in 1191 and 1201 voyages took place both in the spring and autumn.⁷⁷ The fleets of three or four ships required for the trade were regularly met on the return voyage, laden as they were with the precious wares upon which Genoese trade for another year must largely depend, by armed galleys sent to convoy them homeward from as far east as Crete.⁷⁸ In the great ventures men and women, the latter in ever-increasing numbers, from every rank in society were interested. Even the sailors about to depart on the Syrian voyage invested therein the half of their wages for the journey, the portion customarily paid them in Genoa before departure.⁷⁹ The revenues of the commune from the returning merchants and their goods were so reckoned upon by the government that, in 1201, 450 lire were borrowed for the equipment of the navy, to be repaid eleven days after the arrival of the fleet from the Levant.⁸⁰ These are some of the evidences of the growing significance of the trade to the Genoese at large, of the economic shift that led to the popular uprisings of the thirteenth century.

In some ways the most striking contrast between the conditions surrounding the trade in the middle and in the last quarter of the century is the greater facility with which it was conducted. The later dates on which the fleets found it necessary to leave Genoa in order to reach Syria in time for the Christmas festivities suggest improvements in ships and navigation.⁸¹ The wider latitude of movement and judgment, especially in loaning money in Syria, allowed the factors by their associates in Genoa, discloses increased trust in the ability of the agents and greater knowledge of the opportunities of the trade. Much earlier than has heretofore been supposed, the Genoese penetrated the rich markets of the interior, Aleppo and Damascus; by 1203 the factors were regularly permitted and directed to send or carry the investments through the Syrian riviera by sea or by land as far as Aleppo and Damascus.⁸² The factors often

⁷⁶ Anno 1191, Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 35, 36, 37, 46, 47, 48, 52-58; anno 1203, *ibid.*, ff. 195-225; anno 1205, *ibid.*, ff. 242-273.

⁷⁷ "Commercial Contracts", p. 132, note 1.

⁷⁸ *Annales*, II. 77, 79, 80, 91, 96.

⁷⁹ "Commercial Contracts", p. 150.

⁸⁰ Not. Ign., f. 192.

⁸¹ The date of departure can always be fixed within a day or two from the notaries' books. "Commercial Contracts", p. 132, note 2.

⁸² For example, Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 201, 207, 225, 267, etc. Cf. Heyd, *op. cit.*, I. 176-177, and Schaube, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-215, where the dates are placed later in the thirteenth century for the Pisans and Venetians, and no mention made of the Genoese.

spent long periods in the East,⁸³ some permanently as colonists, others long enough to return to Genoa with Syrian appellations.⁸⁴ To these agents, sons, nephews, Orientals, goods and money were consigned, at times in response to orders; from them goods and profits were received in Genoa by consignment without their accompanying the shipment. To them letters were sent from Genoa directing their movements and investments in accordance with the demands of the western markets.⁸⁵ Youths were taken by more experienced men to learn the trade in detail.⁸⁶

The improved conditions of trade and the freer participation therein by the masses of the people, toward the close of the period under discussion, are excellently illustrated by the displacement of the rigid form of partnership known as the *societas maris* by the much more flexible *accommodatio*, as I have elsewhere shown in detail.⁸⁷ Another form of investment, the amplified use of which stands forth as evidence of the expansion of the trade, of its increasing security as a means of using capital for speculative purposes, was the medieval variations of the ancient *foenus nauticum* or sea-loan.⁸⁸ The sea-loan was in fairly common use in the Genoese trade in the West in the middle of the century and in the Alexandrian trade, but in the Syrian trade only five instances are found in the decade 1154-1164.⁸⁹ In the later period it was frequently utilized for many purposes—making remittances to agents in Syria, raising money on goods to be exported and given as security for the loan, on stock owned in vessels, and as a method of securing investment capital beyond the means of the merchant departing for the East.

In the sea-loan the lender assumed the entire risk, since payment was contingent upon the safe arrival of the ship and goods or the

⁸³ "Si autem Ianuam non redirem", "si morabor ultramare", are expressions found. Not. Ign., f. 162; Not. Lanfr., I. f. 96. Men rent their property or leave it in charge of a servant, taking their wives with them to Syria. Not. Lanfr., I. f. 136 v.; Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 250 v.

⁸⁴ "Bertramo di Syria", "Giovanni Andrea di Tripoli", "Giovanni di Acri", etc. Not. Ign., ff. 108, 128. "Bonvassallo di Antioch", consul. *Annales*, II. 5.

⁸⁵ Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 53 v., 56 v., 207, 219 v.; Not. Lanfr., I. f. 96. The factors often stipulated that they be allowed to send to Genoa the profits of their transactions. Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 59, 91 v., 95, etc.

⁸⁶ Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 212; Not. Ign., f. 16 v.

⁸⁷ See my detailed study of the associations, "Commercial Contracts", *loc. cit.*, for analysis and bibliography of the *societas* and *accommodatio*.

⁸⁸ For the sea-loan, see W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea Law* (Oxford, 1909), p. ccxxiv ff.; Goldschmidt, *Handbuch des Handelsrechts* (Stuttgart, 1891), p. 345 ff.; Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁸⁹ *Chart. II.*, nos. 419, 661, 907, 963, 1450.

greater part thereof at the destination. The usual term set for the payment of the loan was one month after the arrival in Syria. The money was either repaid to the lender, who was often a member of the expedition, or to his agent in Syria, or was invested in goods to be sent or brought to Genoa, or else was retained by the borrower after certification of the sum with interest before a notary in Syria, and used by him in *accommodatio*. The advantages to both parties are apparent: remittances to Syria and sums being carried there for investment drew interest during the voyage; merchandise to be exported could be realized upon in Genoa, or bought on credit to be sold in Syria at a price high enough to cover interest and expenses and to afford a comfortable profit. Shipowners and share-holders in shipping secured what amounted to insurance or bottomry. The rates charged are a direct index to the margin of profit in the Syrian trade. In 1157 and 1160, money was loaned for the Syrian voyage to bring the same rate of interest as of profit obtained on merchandise carried by the factor. In 1158, 33½ per cent. was asked for the round trip (about nine months), and in 1160, 62 per cent. was demanded for the outward voyage alone, but with the use of the money in trade and a share in the profits and interest as an offset to the excessive rate. In the period of greater mobility after 1179, the rates, all for the eastward voyage (about three months), rose noticeably. In 1184, when the recent financial stringency in Genoa was beginning visibly to lessen, the rate stood at 41.2 per cent.⁹⁰ Just after the Third Crusade, when the trade was being rebuilt after several years of cessation, it rose to 50 per cent. for small sums, and to 62½ per cent. for a large loan of 400 lire with inadequate security.⁹¹ In 1200 a single loan is found at 45.7 per cent.; the rate varied from 34, 41, and 43 to 46 per cent. in 1203 and rose in 1205 to 50 per cent.⁹² The sea-loan was forbidden as

⁹⁰ Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 1 v., 139, 141 v., 142.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 91 v., 93 v.; Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 48 v. The borrower of the 400 lire was able to give as security in ship and cargo only 135 lire. *Ibid.*, f. 37 v.

⁹² Not. Ign., f. 162; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 206 v., 207, 218 v., 222 v., 224-225 v., 248 v., 252 v., 255, 261, 265. The loans are made in the uncoined silver lira of Genoa, to be paid in Syria in gold besants often designated as "b. sarracinales", "b. di Acri", "b. di Sulie", all of which were apparently accepted by Genoese traders as of equal value, and were Christian imitations of the Saracen gold besant of the pre-Crusade period. Cf. G. L. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin* (Paris, 1882), pp. 130-135, and supplement, pp. 9-11. In this connection it may be noted that Schlumberger, following L. Blanchard, *Le Besant d'Or Sarrasins pendant les Croisades* (Marseille, 1880), places the gold besant of Acre only as early as 1201, whereas reference to it is found as early as 1179 in the notarial documents. Not Ign., f. 3. The interest rates here given are all based on the

usurious by Gregory IX. and continued in practice thereafter despite papal prohibition.⁹³

A review of the articles of commerce in the Syrian trade emphasizes the economic difficulties of the trade in its beginnings and the gradual expansion as these disadvantages were overcome. In the middle of the century (1154-1164) one is forced to conclude, from the few references to merchandise, that the great bulk of the investments carried to Syria was in gold and silver. For gold and silver alone could the precious wares of the East be exchanged by an as yet non-industrial folk trading among a people with whose needs they were unfamiliar, and for whom the West in the twelfth century could have produced few necessities and no luxuries. Even the western Christians in the crusaders' states must have found most of their wants more than satisfied without dependence on Europe.

This conclusion, based on recognized economic conditions, is well supported in the period after 1179, when the more widely differentiated classes of investors and factors drew their contracts with specific reference to the nature of the investment, whether gold or merchandise. In that period large amounts of gold and silver were still sent to Syria. Individuals exported it in sums varying in value from 12 soldi to 100 lire, and Simon de Bulgaro in 1200 carried to Syria 1004 lire 6 soldi, apparently all in gold or silver; of this 700 lire was his own, and the balance was entrusted to him by three female relatives and three male associates.⁹⁴ The form in which the exports were made varied—bullion, rings, cups, thread, chains, or expressed in terms of the gold *tareni* of Sicily and the silver *melgorienses* of southern France.⁹⁵ Aside from the need for gold as a purchasing agent, it was a lucrative form of investment in Syria as loans. The Syrian powers must often have been in need of money; but such loans were not always favorably re-

normal exchange of one lira for two besants found in a document of 1191 where no interest was involved. Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 17 v. Could the normal rate of exchange be found for each year, the interest rates here given might be subject to correction.

⁹³ *Decretal.*, Gregory IX., lib. V., tit. XIX., c. XIX.; Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁹⁴ Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 118, 272; Not. Ign., f. 162.

⁹⁵ For example, Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 217, 268 v., 271 v., 272, 273, 293 v.; Not. Lanfr., I. f. 143 v. In the great majority of cases the investment is simply stated to be "in auro". The growth of this method of trade in the thirteenth century in Genoa may be inferred from the fact that in 1277 a Genoese merchant who died in Armenia left, with a store of many kinds of cloth, 16 sacks of silver bars weighing 592½ *libre*, bearing a Genoese stamp. Ferretto, *Codice Diplomatico*, II. (Genoa, 1903), p. 178, note 1.

garded by those who did not maintain permanent agents in Syria. The Embriachi authorized their administrator at Acre for the years 1200 to 1202 to loan money to knights or governments as he pleased,⁹⁶ but the average investor often stipulated that his money should be loaned only to merchants on good security, not in usury, nor for the equipment of warships, nor to the crusaders' governments.⁹⁷ Returning pilgrims and crusaders, as well as merchants, must occasionally have had to be financed: one of the largest single loans made in this period was 200 marks of fine silver to Bishop Ralph of Liège in 1191, returning from Syria with a suite made up of his nephew, archdeacon, chaplain, seneschal, butler, and secretary.⁹⁸

One interesting transformation in the trade between 1154 and 1205, is the gradual displacement of gold and silver by cloth as the most important article of export. The position of Genoa at the most northern point of the Tyrrhenian Sea, nearest to Lombardy, Germany, and France, enabled the Genoese to make their city a centre for the distribution of cloth. Familiar with the cloth fairs of southern France from the beginning of their commercial expansion, as with those of Champagne by the third quarter of the century, in the decade 1154-1164 the Genoese were already important agents for the sale of cloth in the West, and had begun to find it a profitable article of commerce in Syria. As early as 1149 the *introitus de canna* was one of the most important revenues of the commune.⁹⁹ Not only did the export of cloth to Syria increase enormously in volume toward the end of the period, but an equally significant change in the diversity of quality, color, and value took place. In the middle of the century the only cloth exported to Syria regularly and in large quantities was the common fustian. A cotton cloth known as *baldinellis*, small quantities of finer sorts as serge, green and scarlet cloth of still higher value, French cloth, and cloth of undescribed quality or color were also sent east.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Not. Ign., f. 160 v.

⁹⁷ The loaning of money by factors to Syrian powers was regarded as dangerous in the middle of the century by some Genoese investors, and difficulties were met in collections. *Chart. II.*, nos. 1106, 1107, 1108. For the period 1179-1205, similar loans are either expressly forbidden (Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 53, 58, 91, 212), or more often the investment is entrusted "causa mercandi", which might be construed as excluding loans. *Ibid.*, ff. 262-266, etc. Cf. Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁹⁸ Not. Gugl. Cass., f. 38.

⁹⁹ *Lib. Jur.*, I., nos. 146, 147, 212. The *canna* was the standard measure of cloth. The development of the Genoese cloth-trade from the notaries' acts would repay careful study. There can be given here only a brief statement of the important phases of it with reference to Syria.

¹⁰⁰ *Chart. II.*, nos. 414, 419, 457, 486, 963, 1504.

When the Syrian markets for western cloth had been developed, not only did fustian of Lombard weave maintain its hold in black, white, and stripes,¹⁰¹ serge in black and blue,¹⁰² *baldinellis* in larger shipments,¹⁰³ but two new and exceedingly important lines of trade in cloth were opened, namely, cloth of English wool, and linen. As early as 1191 an English merchant is found in Genoa selling cloth of Stamford wool; the presence of three English merchants in 1205 in the same trade enables one to assume a profitable connection with England thus early.¹⁰⁴ The Stamford cloth, in white and colors, sometimes dyed after its arrival in Genoa, was exported to Syria in large quantities and, like the more valuable cloths, in pieces, not in bales.¹⁰⁵ The linen in demand in Syria came mainly from France, especially from Rheims, and from Germany; it was shipped in lots worth up to 183½ lire.¹⁰⁶ Beyond these staple cloths, are mentioned great quantities of other sorts, cloth of Liège and Ypres; Corbeil, Mers, Vogue, and Nérès in France; Caparica, near Lisbon; Garbo in Africa, Lombard cloth, blue, green, brown, black, and vermilion cloth, or simply *pannis*.¹⁰⁷ The Genoese cloth-trade in the twelfth century, disclosed in the Syrian commerce, is of economic significance in view of the vista opened by glimpses into the records of the thirteenth century, when there developed in Genoa a thriving industry in weaving, dyeing, and finishing, accompanied by a complementary development of Genoa as the wool market for northern Italy.¹⁰⁸

In addition to the staple exports of gold and cloth, the Genoese occasionally exported lead, copper, steel, and nails; helmets, chest-armor, and shields; furs, sometimes in large quantities, coats of lamb, cony, and squirrel; cloaks and mantles of gray or scarlet,

¹⁰¹ Not. Ign., ff. 20, 21, 87 v., 213 v., 219 v.; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 212, 256.

¹⁰² Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 53, 261.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, f. 53; Not. Lanfr., I. f. 96.

¹⁰⁴ Colin, Simon, and Robin of Stamford. Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 43, 128, 175, 252 v., 255 v. In 1188 Rubeo della Volta was sent to England to arrange for Richard's aid in the Crusade. *Annales*, II. 29. The commercial connection between England and Genoa was apparently the result of the Crusade. It could be traced throughout from the notaries' acts.

¹⁰⁵ For example, Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 43, 212, 225, 252, 261, 264 v., 265, 272.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 207, 212, 216 v., 225 v., 261 v., 269.

¹⁰⁷ For example, in addition to the references in the two notes previous, Not. Ign., f. 160 v.; Not. Gugl. Cass., ff. 54, 252 v., 256, 268; Not. Lanfr., I. ff. 91 v., 139.

¹⁰⁸ Pending a satisfactory study of the Genoese wool market, some idea of its importance may be gleaned from the miscellaneous collections of extracts from the acts of the notaries, for reference to which, see "Commercial Contracts", p. 130, note 1.

lined or trimmed with fur; garments, clerical vestments of silk, embroidered in gold and in colors, mostly articles intended for the Genoese colonists in the East. Shares in ships were used as commodities to be sold abroad if good opportunities arose. In addition to this miscellaneous list of wares, hundreds of lire were exported invested in merchandise (*implicatas in mercibus*), impossible to identify but unquestionably of the same general character as the wares specifically mentioned.¹⁰⁹

The wares imported from Syria, as from Alexandria, are those long identified with the Levant trade. In the middle of the century pepper, brazil-wood, alum, and cotton were the staple imports and were used as currency in Genoa by individuals and by the government, evidence of their high value. Next to these in importance came miscellaneous spices—cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves; dye materials aside from the highly prized brazil-wood and alum, such as gall-nuts, saffron, mastic, and indigo; steel blades, of Damascene workmanship no doubt; lacquer, incense, and drugs; silk and cloth of Bagdad; sugar and sugar confections; quantities of unspecified merchandise. All these Levantine wares Genoese merchants distributed throughout the West, in Africa, Spain, southern France, and the fairs of Champagne. The foreigners who frequented Genoa in ever-increasing numbers, Lombards, Arabs, French, Germans, and English, found there a steady supply of eastern goods. The increased use of eastern luxuries in western Europe in the twelfth century, largely owing to Genoese traders, is apparent; the records of the thirteenth century will disclose remarkable advances in this respect.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ *Chart.* II., nos. 1105, 1457; *Not. Ign.*, ff. 15, 22, 87 v.; *Not. Gugl. Cass.*, ff. 36, 56 v., 222 v., 235-236, 243, 257 v., 266, 272; *Not. Lanfr.*, I. ff. 141 v., 143. The later thirteenth-century records abound in references to armor, cutlery, etc., indicative of the growth of new industries.

¹¹⁰ *Chart.* II., nos. 335, 501, 508, 597, 644, 652, 734, 988, 1013, 1189, 1312, 1365; *Not. Gugl. Cass.*, ff. 50, 54, 79 v., 233 v., 234, 249, 265. My investigations do not throw a great amount of new light on the imports from Syria in the twelfth century, as given by Heyd and Schaube. An interesting fact is the decreasing number of references to dye-woods at the beginning of the thirteenth century, when the use of native dye-materials, grana, rozia, etc., was increasing as the Genoese dye-industry developed. Here again the notaries' acts are full of rich promise. The lack of many references to silk imports is interesting in view of the enormous imports I have noticed in casual glances into the records of the thirteenth century, when merchants of Lucca and Florence frequented the Genoese markets for silk as for wool. In this same connection a study can and should be made, from the archives, of the Genoese activity in the sale of wares to merchants going to the great fairs.

This review of Genoese commercial expansion in the twelfth century illustrates many of the difficult conditions under which Italian enterprise began to transform European life in the Middle Ages. For the Genoese it was a century of political and economic experiment. They found in Syria a source of wealth that compensated them for their territorial limitations, for their failure to compete successfully with the Venetians in Byzantium, to realize fully their ambitions in Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily. On their Syrian experiences of the twelfth century they were able in the next to submerge Pisa, to grapple on equal terms with Venice, and to found a great commercial empire throughout the Levant. The Syrian enterprises supplied the stimulus and the means through which a young and vigorous folk discovered their opportunities, their strength and weakness. The seizure of control of a rich trade by native capitalists from their Levantine predecessors, the rise and overthrow of feudal privilege, the growth of money economy, the ebb and flow of economic advance despite temporary retardations resulting from efforts beyond the strength of youth, the impulse to an internal industrial development that should if possible keep pace with the maritime trade, the gradual advance in commercial methods, the near approach of credit operations—all are outlined or suggested. It is a chapter in the story of expansion from the stage of village economy to that of international trade, with wide social implications, a chapter duplicated elsewhere in Italy no doubt, but one that can best be traced from Genoese sources.

EUGENE H. BYRNE.

SLAVERY AND THE BEGINNINGS OF INDUSTRIALISM IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES¹

ONE of the characteristic features of the evolution of the western nations in the last two centuries is the passing of comparatively simple agricultural societies through various stages to that condition known as industrialism. Reduced to their lowest terms, the chief factors which caused such changes were, first, increase in population, and second, exhaustion of the land, both in quantity and quality. These conditions led to diversification of industry, to an increase in the number and variety of artisans, trades, and occupations, not specifically agricultural. With a continued increase in population and a tendency toward compactness, with rapid exhaustion of the soil, with a growing scarcity of, and high prices for, food supplies, new lands were opened up and surplus population was either exported or, if not, it was diverted to manufacturing industries, trade, and commerce. This process was hastened in the Old World by the colonization of new lands overseas, and the resulting opportunities for the more rapid production of wealth through the development of the resources of these lands, the production of raw materials for use in manufacturing, or to supply other needs, and the establishment of markets for the sale of manufactured goods.

The American colonies supplied England with a portion of the new lands she needed in order to make the transition from agriculturalism to industrialism. Likewise the colonies were compelled to depend on England, or some other country, in making a similar transition for reasons to be noted. The influence of some of the factors mentioned, with others to be mentioned, caused the colonies to pass through the earlier stages of the process leading to industrialism even before independence was secured. This period of semi-industrialism is marked by a rapid increase of population, exhaustion of land and soil, and in consequence a tendency toward a diversification of farming and of occupations. Other important influences affecting this movement were the commercial policy of

¹ This article is submitted as only a tentative study of a large subject. Important aspects of this subject are but lightly treated and others not considered at all. Emphasis is placed on only two colonies, South Carolina and Virginia. Since however nearly three-fourths of all the slaves in the South, at the opening of the Revolution, lived in these colonies, we may consider that the economic conditions described are typical of the other southern colonies.

England, which tended to stimulate as well as to retard certain manufactures. England also was in part responsible for scarcity or high price of imported manufactured goods, due to poor transportation facilities, or to the interruption or retardation of trade, because of wars or for other causes. The colonial governments were thus led to stimulate manufactures by bounties and other methods in order that the colonists might meet pressing and immediate needs, and individuals were stimulated to manufacture for profit under such conditions. The high cost of transporting and marketing the bulky goods produced by the colonists, in connection with overproduction, especially of tobacco, and England's restrictive commercial and trade policy, often resulted in inability to ship goods, or in such low prices for the product as to make the colonists either unable or disinclined to purchase manufactured goods abroad. This also led to diversification of farming and of occupations, thus again stimulating certain forms of manufactures. In the decade preceding the Revolution the movement for independence, in its economic as well as in its political aspect, stimulated manufactures. The colonists wished to avoid the payment of taxes on imported goods, both because of the principle involved and because of high prices. Patriotic motives, the desire for economic as well as political independence, the non-importation and non-consumption agreements, all these stimulated manufactures to supply pressing and immediate economic needs. In general we may say that there was, in the generation or so preceding the Revolution, a rapid increase in the number of men who were convinced that it was more desirable, practical, and profitable to employ labor and to invest capital in industries or manufactures involving partial or complete transformation of raw materials into finished products, than to confine themselves exclusively to agriculture or to occupations involving only the production and transportation of purely raw materials. With the one exception of food supply, all the factors so far mentioned, viz., increase of population, exhaustion of land and soil, scarcity or high price of manufactured goods, encouragement of specific manufactures by England and by the colonial assemblies, low price of exported products, especially tobacco, the influence of the movement for independence, and the proportionate return to be obtained on capital invested—all of these factors were influential in producing a diversification of farming and occupations, and an increase in manufacturing in the southern colonies as well as in those of the North.²

² There is no comprehensive account of the development of manufactures in

In the so-called tobacco colonies of Maryland and Virginia, the general tendency of the tobacco régime was to make it more and more difficult because of overproduction and low prices³ to make this product alone pay for the manufactured goods imported. Hence many a planter was faced with a loss of credit, heavy debt, or bankruptcy on the one hand, or the necessity of finding a remedy to meet the situation on the other. This remedy might be based on one or more of the following principles: that of decreasing the product, or using some other means of increasing the price of the same; that of raising other agricultural products for which a higher relative price could be obtained; that of purchasing fewer manufactured goods from abroad; or that of producing such goods at home. To counteract the bad effects of the English commercial policy, a few of the planters made the discovery, as early as the end of the seventeenth century, that it was more profitable to plant partly exhausted tobacco lands, and sometimes even fresh lands, with corn, wheat, or other cereals, or turn them into pasture lands for cattle and sheep, than to grow tobacco.⁴ Moreover, much of the land unsuited to tobacco culture could be profitably used for such purposes, and as the centre of population moved westward it became necessary, for the upland soil was lighter and more sandy. Such crops were also desirable and even necessary to supply food—corn, for example—for the rapidly growing population, and especially for the negro slave. Corn was also necessary to feed the cattle, as the practice of allowing herds to roam the woods proved too costly. There was thus some tendency toward a system of agriculture based on corn, wheat, and other cereals, cattle, sheep, and hogs, and later, farther to the south, cotton—products more suited to exhausted and poorer soils—than on tobacco, hemp, and flax, those products which both demanded a rich soil and at the same time exhausted it most rapidly.

the southern colonies. For illustrations of the points in this paragraph consult in general, V. S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860* (Washington, 1916); R. M. Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States, 1640-1860* (Chicago, 1917); and J. L. Bishop, *History of American Manufactures, 1607-1860* (Philadelphia, 3 vols., 1861-1868). In particular consult P. A. Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. II., chs. XVII. and XVIII., "Manufactured Supplies: Domestic"; and Clark, "Colonial Manufactures", in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, ed. J. C. Ballagh, vol. V. On soil-exhaustion see Bruce, *op. cit.*, I. 424-425, II. 566.

³ Bruce, *op. cit.*, I. 345, 389-394, 401. In 1664 the Virginia and Maryland crop amounted to 50,000 hogsheads, valued at £150,000 sterling, yet the price was so low that the planters were brought in debt £50,000. *Ibid.*, I. 391.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 459-466, 370-372, 481-482. In the winter of 1673, 50,000 cattle are said to have perished in Virginia. *Ibid.*, I. 372.

We may now inquire what was the relation of these agricultural tendencies of the eighteenth century to other industries and occupations resulting, and particularly to the occupations of negro slaves. It is obvious that with these raw materials present and plantation needs greatly extended, some needs might be satisfied by transforming a portion of these raw materials, through primary or secondary processes, into manufactured articles. If a surplus could be produced for purposes of export, the profit obtained could be used to supply other manufactured articles for which tobacco alone could no longer provide the funds. We know that as the eighteenth century progressed, there was in all the southern colonies a large increase in the production of corn, wheat, and other cereals, and in the raising of cattle, sheep, and hogs. Likewise we know that there was a large increase in mills for grinding grain, both for home consumption and for export. The production of cereal and animal products was stimulated by the opportunity for profit in provisioning ships, both English and colonial. The great increase in shipping in the eighteenth century called for large quantities of provisions, such as flour, ship-bread, beef, and pork; and besides there was a great demand for these articles in the West Indies, in exchange for molasses, sugar, and other products needed by the American colonies. We know that the number of tanneries increased; that the southern colonies passed numerous laws to prevent the export of hides and leather in order to encourage the tanning of leather and allied industries; that leather manufactures, including especially the manufacture of the rougher grades of shoes, increased. We know that the textile industries—the weaving of cloth from flax, wool, and cotton—increased, both for home consumption and for neighborhood exchange.⁵

There was an increasing desire to secure a greater return from the capital invested, by making greater use of the natural resources of the plantation, both because of necessity and for possible profits. Beverley had called the attention of the planters of Virginia in 1705 to their wastefulness and lack of energy in this respect.⁶ There were large supplies of raw materials on many plantations, the natural products of the land, especially forests, that led to occupations

⁵ There were exported from the upper district of the James River, from October 25, 1763, to October 25, 1764, among other articles, 29,145 bushels of wheat, 3003 pounds of bacon, 50 tierces of bread, 62,763 bushels of corn, 1098 barrels of flour, and 920 barrels and 1000 pounds of pork. *Virginia Gazette*, February 12, 1767. For the increase in the leather and textile industries see Clark and Bishop, above, indexes, "Maryland", "Virginia", etc.

⁶ R. Beverley, *The History of Virginia* (London, 1722), p. 255.

based on lumber products. The needs of England compelled her to stimulate the production of naval stores, and the southern forests were available for masts, spars, planks, and boards for building ships and boats of all kinds and for repairs on the same, as well as for the production of tar, pitch, and turpentine. There were, besides rough manufactures from the forests, other lumber products requiring more skill. We have evidence of a great increase in the manufacture of staves, hoops, and "headings", in order to provide for the enormous number of hogsheads, barrels, and tierces, containers for tobacco, rice, and other products to be exported. We know besides that great quantities of the above articles were manufactured for export⁷ to the West Indies and other countries, containers for molasses, sugar, etc. We know that various other industries were based on cultivated or natural products of the soil, such occupations as brewing, wine-making, and the production of bricks, rope, hats, salt, soap, candles, powder, potash, and a variety of domestic utensils and implements.⁸ We know that the eighteenth century witnessed a rise in the standard of living; that there was a demand for better houses and a tendency to lath and plaster, to shingle and clapboard, to build brick houses, in place of the earlier unfinished log or board structures.⁹ The great increase of slaves and of production called for a larger output of lumber for building operations, for barns, tobacco-houses, outbuildings, landings, warehouses, etc. We know that as a result of these industries there was an increase in the number of artisans and craftsmen of all kinds; that effort was made by the colonial governments, particularly through the apprenticeship acts, to increase the supply;¹⁰ that as a result there was an increase of millers, brewers, weavers, butchers, tanners, curriers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, sawyers, carpenters, shipwrights, brickmakers, masons, plasterers, and other skilled workers.

This diversification of farming and industry is the fundamental factor leading to the employment of the slave in non-agricultural labor and manufacturing processes. We have seen that the move-

⁷ From the upper district of the James River, October 25, 1763, to October 25, 1764, there were exported 566,800 staves, 9250 hoops, 80,860 shingles, and 3800 headings. *Virginia Gazette*, February 12, 1767. From Charleston, November 1, 1763, to November 1, 1764, there were exported 1,553,365 shingles, 700 laths, and 228,015 staves and headings. *South Carolina Gazette*, October 29, 1764.

⁸ For these industries see indexes of Clark and Bishop above.

⁹ Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, ed. J. Sabin (1865), p. 36 (London, 1724); Beverley, *op. cit.*, p. 251 (1722).

¹⁰ These acts have been summarized, and their workings described, by the writer in articles in the *School Review* for June, 1919, and January, 1920.

ment began in the latter portion of the seventeenth century, and was due principally to the shortage of goods from England, high prices for the same, and low prices for tobacco. The movement, however, had not made much headway by 1705, according to Beverley, though there is good reason for believing that he underestimated the amount of manufactures at this date.¹¹ The evidence of diversification of farming and of occupations increases rapidly after 1720. We have references to such in the reports of governors to the Lords of Trade, in reports of travellers, in the advertisements in newspapers, and in the statistics of the export trade in manufactured articles. We note diversification in the production of cereals, in the increase of mills, of cattle and sheep and industries dependent on them. Further evidence of this tendency is seen in the legislation designed to increase the supply of artisans and in the acts to encourage manufactures and to prevent the export of raw materials. Such evidence proves that the industrial development of the southern colonies in the eighteenth century at least made possible the employment of the negro slave in non-agricultural occupations.¹²

It is evident that the part the slave might take in these rough manufactures would depend on the number of slaves available, their intelligence, and the relative profit to be obtained by use of this kind of labor; in other words, on the question whether it was possible, desirable, or necessary, practicable, and profitable. The eighteenth century witnessed a rapid and large increase in the number of slaves, both from importation and from births.¹³ There was therefore a large possible supply. Negroes were of two general classes: first, "raw" or "Guinea" negroes, those imported directly from Africa; secondly, those "country-born". The latter might be imported from the West Indies or from some other colony; or they might be negroes born and brought up in the colony where they were employed. It is evident that the second class would constitute the most important possible sources for the supply of slaves who might be trained as artisans.¹⁴ "Country-born" negroes would generally have greater intelligence and a better knowledge of the English lan-

¹¹ Beverley, *op. cit.* See note 2.

¹² The reports of governors at various dates are summarized by Clark, in *History of Manufactures*, ch. IX. See also A. A. Giesecke, *American Commercial Legislation before 1789*, and Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

¹³ For the slave population of the southern colonies in 1755 and 1775 see article by the writer, "Slavery and Conversion in the American Colonies", in *American Historical Review*, XXI, 523, note 123.

¹⁴ A few negroes imported directly from Africa may have possessed some mechanical skill. See J. A. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, pp. 32-33.

guage. They would be more docile, more adaptable to their environment, more familiar with the methods of production, and in general more civilized than freshly imported negroes. Indeed, the latter were often judged, *a priori*, as nothing but brute creatures without intelligence.¹⁵ The native-born negro came in contact with the civilization of the white man from birth and was disciplined, to some extent, in childhood and youth. Such discipline tended to develop the intelligence of this class of slaves, and it was from among them, by a process of natural selection, that the more capable were assigned to occupations requiring more intelligence than ordinary field labor; occupations usually calling for a certain degree of skill in handicraft. The "country-born" negroes were, however, subdivided into groups of varying degrees of ability. There were negroes of pure blood who, of course, varied in intelligence just as white persons do. But from the first there was the class known as mulattos, negroes with more or less white blood in their veins.¹⁶ It is quite generally admitted that the effect of crossing the races made most of the mulattos more intelligent than the negroes of pure blood.¹⁷ There were doubtless exceptions to the rule, but the percentage was small. This fact was reflected in the higher prices paid for mulattos throughout the period of slavery.¹⁸ There was thus a continual and increasing supply of this class, with a tendency to select from it the most intelligent for work requiring handicraft skill. Negroes of this class tended to increase in ability from generation to generation, both because of natural selection and because they were more favored. They had better opportunities for religious instruction, and for closer contact with the white population.

It was natural for a planter to employ a slave to do a piece of work requiring skill or intelligence if he had one of suitable character. If, besides, such employment was necessary, he might make the attempt even at considerable cost. In fact, we know that there was throughout the colonial period a great scarcity of free artisans in the southern colonies. We know that indentured servant artisans were insufficient in number for the work to be done and were unsatisfactory for many other reasons; that frequently, perhaps generally, they gave up working at their trade, if they had one, in

¹⁵ On the intelligence of the negro see article cited above, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXI, 517, 519, and notes 88, 103-106.

¹⁶ This class arose from miscegenation and intermarriage of whites and blacks. On this question see Reuter, *The Mulatto in the United States* (Boston, 1918).

¹⁷ Tillinghast, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-121.

¹⁸ *E. g.*, see note 66.

order to become farmers.¹⁹ This scarcity of artisans made it almost necessary that the planter should put forth every effort to purchase or train slaves who had skill in some handicraft, particularly as he produced staple crops on a large scale, diversified his agriculture, or began to make use of the resources of his land, whether it produced forests, animals, minerals, or other things that could be profitably transformed into goods of greater value. If at the same time there was a shortage of manufactured goods from abroad, or the price was excessively high, or the planter had no funds for their purchase, or was in debt, these were additional and pressing reasons for the use of slaves in plantation manufactures. In other words, eighteenth-century plantation economy called for more careful use of all the resources available, both for greater profit as well as to avoid bankruptcy. If, still further, there were facilities for training the slave in a trade and all or many of the above reasons were operating, a planter would almost certainly make the effort. We may note that there was the opportunity to select from large numbers, and some would be available for training because of natural aptitude, or inherited tendencies. The indentured white servant artisan, as well as the free artisan, was always a possible source of instruction. Young negro slaves could be apprenticed by masters to free white artisans to learn particular trades. They were purchased by artisans or those with skill in some handicraft, for the purpose of teaching them. Besides, slaves who had acquired skill could be used to instruct other slaves. Finally, masters could let or hire out young negroes to persons who would employ them in labor which would increase their intelligence and skill, or, if capable, masters could instruct slaves themselves.²⁰

Let us now consider the early evidence for the actual employment of slaves in industries other than those purely agricultural up to about 1740. By 1649, one man, at least, had discovered that it was possible, practical, and profitable to train slaves to be artisans and to perform simple manufacturing processes. Thus the author of *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (1649) declares that

Worthy Captaine Matthews, an old Planter of above thirty yeers standing, one of the Counsell, and a most deserving Common-wealthsman, I may not omit to let you know this Gentlemans industry. He hath a fine house, and all things answerable to it; he sowes yeerly store of Hempe and Flax, and causes it to be spun; he keeps Weavers, and

¹⁹ Their short period of indenture and the fact that they were likely to run away, were two objections. See notes 10 and 24.

²⁰ For illustrations of methods of training the slave, see Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, p. 38, and notes 25, 29, 51, 55, 56.

hath a Tan-house, causes Leather to be dressed, hath eight Shoemakers employed in their trade, hath forty Negroe servants, brings them up to Trades in his house. He yeerly sowes abundance of Wheat, Barley, etc. The Wheat he selleth at four shillings the bushell; kills store of Beeves, and sells them to victuall the ships when they come thither: hath abundance of Kine, a brave Dairy, Swine great store, and Poltery . . .²¹

Here we have, in this remarkable document, an illustration of four tendencies, important and characteristic movements of the eighteenth century; first, diversified farming; secondly, diversified industry—provisioning and tanning; thirdly, manufacturing linen cloth and shoes; and fourthly, the training of negro slaves as artisans and skilled workmen. In short Captain Matthews was a farmer, a rancher, a manufacturer, and a merchant. He ran a plantation and a factory at the same time. The inventory of Robert Beverley, sr., shows that he had a negro carpenter valued at thirty pounds. John Carter, jr., owned a negro cooper, and Ralph Wormeley a negro cooper and carpenter, each valued at thirty-five pounds sterling.²² It is said that the county records of Virginia of the seventeenth century, inventories and wills in particular, reveal the presence of many negro mechanics, especially carpenters and coopers, and negro women who had been taught to take part in domestic manufactures.²³ The only other important source for artisans was the white, indentured servant mechanic. But when his term of service expired, usually in four or five years, another would have to be purchased in England. This constantly recurring necessity for supplying the place of white mechanics led the planters to have some of their slaves instructed in the trades, even in the seventeenth century.²⁴

Owing to the rapid diversification of farming and of occupations after 1705, there was a corresponding increase in the variety of artisans. The increase in the number and variety of slave artisans may be judged from the statement of Hugh Jones in 1724, who said that "a good Negro" was "sometimes worth three (nay four) Score Pounds Sterling, if he be a Tradesman". He also says that negroes were taught to be "Sawyers, Carpenters, Smiths, Coopers,

²¹ *A Perfect Description of Virginia* (1649), p. 15.

²² Bruce, *op. cit.*, II. 405.

²³ *Ibid.*, II. 405, 471. Note also that Thomas Cocke (d. 1696), left by will a flour-mill and two tanneries, and mentioned by name one of his tanners, whom he bequeathed to his son James. Another mechanic at the mill was left "with all his tools" to his son Stephen. *Virginia Magazine of History*, III. 407-408.

²⁴ Bruce, *op. cit.*, II. 405. For similar practice of training slaves as artisans in the West Indies, see F. W. Pitman, *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763*, pp. 58-60.

etc., and though for the most Part they be none of the aptest or nicest, yet they are by Nature cut out for hard Labour and Fatigue, and will perform tolerably well".²⁵ The frequent reference to negro artisans in the wills and inventories of the early eighteenth century is further evidence of the increase of this class. For example, note the will and inventory of Robert ("King") Carter, 1732. He bequeathed, among other slaves, "George the Cooper", and a negro boy who was being taught a trade by this cooper. His inventory mentions seven negro carpenters and three negro sawyers.²⁶ Richard Chapman writes in 1739 that he had a "couple of Young Slaves who are Carpenters and Coopers, who are just beginning to be of Great use to me". He then orders of his agent abroad axes, saws, coopers' tools, etc.²⁷

It is desirable to study next the early development of these same tendencies in South Carolina, and then treat the general development of these two colonies together, from 1740 to the Revolution.

In South Carolina the use of the slave in non-agricultural occupations and the effort to train him as an artisan centred first on utilizing the resources of the forests. In a description of South Carolina published in 1761, the author states that slaves could be employed in the unused part of the year when "they will have some Time to spare for sawing Lumber and making Hogsheads, and other Staves, to supply the Sugar Colonies".²⁸ The bounties paid by England for the production of naval stores—masts, spars, and especially tar, pitch, and turpentine—would give great opportunity for the employment of slaves in this industry. Sawyers, carpenters, and coopers would be needed in large numbers to supply plantation needs—lumber, for buildings and repairs, for staves, hoops, and headings, and for rice barrels.²⁹ Staves, etc., were profitable for export to the

²⁵ Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39. For a similar statement of conditions in North Carolina, see letter of the S. P. G. missionary Rev. John Urmstone, July 7, 1711, in F. L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina* (1858), II, 215. See also John Brickell, *Natural History of North Carolina* (1731, repr.), p. 275.

²⁶ His will in *Va. Mag. of Hist.*, V, 412, and inventory, *ibid.*, VI, 368.

²⁷ *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, XXI, 93.

²⁸ In B. R. Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, II, 204.

²⁹ "Last November I sent a fine young Fellow a Cooper to your Ladyship's Plantation to make Rice Barrels and teach two of your People that Business." Habersham to the Countess of Huntingdon, April 19, 1775. *Georgia Hist. Soc. Coll.*, VI, 242; extract in Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier*, II, 44. An account of produce exported in less than one year, from Charleston, November 1, 1751, to October 16, 1752, shows that it involved the production of 110,462 hogsheads, tierces, and barrels to hold the rice, pitch, tar, turpentine, skins, beef, and pork sent out. From November 1, 1753, to November 1, 1754, 110,714 barrels were

West Indies to be made into barrels for sugar and molasses; and lumber products of all kinds; planks, boards, etc.

In the files of the *South Carolina Gazette*, 1732 to 1776, we find evidence of slaves trained in and practising at least twenty-eight different trades specifically so named.³⁰ Of woodworkers there were seven varieties; viz., sawyers, squarers, coopers, house-carpenters, ship-carpenters or shipwrights, cabinet-makers, and wheelwrights. Of leather-workers, there were tanners, curriers, and shoemakers. Of cloth-workers there were spinners, carders, weavers, knitters, needleworkers or seamstresses, and tailors. Of those engaged in the building trades, there were brick-moulders and brickmakers, bricklayers, lime-makers, plasterers, whitewashers, painters or glaziers, caulkers, blacksmiths, and even such a trade as that of a silversmith was represented. There were also miscellaneous occupations more or less connected with the production and distribution of non-agricultural goods. There were slaves who were navigators, pilots, boatmen, porters, etc. In the above statement no account is made of the use of the slave in occupations involving the partial transformation of raw materials into forms that involve rough or primary manufacturing operations, such as preparing rice, indigo, hemp, flax, and raw silk for export, the grinding of grain, packing of meat products, and other similar occupations, where slaves performed work not agricultural. The manufacturing industries carried on may be inferred from the trades represented, and these included manufacture of lumber, planks and boards, of staves, hoops and headings, hogsheds, and barrels; the making of buildings, ships, and boats of all kinds, and of furniture, wheeled vehicles, leather, shoes, cloth, clothing, socks, bricks, lime, domestic utensils and implements.

The mechanical skill or knowledge possessed by the negro slave needed for the export of similar products—i. e., a production of 221,176 barrels in a little less than three years. But in addition, in this last period, there were exported 168,121 staves. The number of sawyers, carpenters, and coopers needed to produce this one type of article was quite considerable, and it is evident that a large portion must have been produced by negro slaves, artisans with a knowledge of the above trades. We may note in passing that there were also exported, in this last year mentioned, 952,880 shingles, and 780,776 feet of scantling, plank, and boards, some of which it is likely were produced by negro slaves. See *S. C. Gaz.*, October 16, 1752, November 7, 1754.

³⁰ This by no means exhausts the trades followed by negro slaves in this period. For example there were shingle-makers in Georgia. *Georgia Gazette*, February 16, 1774. And in Virginia, iron-workers, including "finers, hammermen and colliers". *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), August 6, 1767. Rev. John Urmstone of North Carolina speaks of "tallow Chandlers", "soap makers, starch-makers and dyers". Hawks, *Hist. of N. C.*, II. 215.

artisans was applied, and the production of manufactured goods accomplished, with slaves holding a variety of relationships with the person who for the moment profited by their labor. At least four distinct relationships were common. In the first place most artisan slaves of course applied their skill or produced goods when owned and kept as slaves by any free white or colored man or woman who wished to profit by such skill. Such an individual might be a rice or indigo producer, a planter, a farmer, a man or woman engaged in any of the trades or manufacturing industries mentioned above, or any other free person. Secondly, a slave might apply his knowledge or produce goods when apprenticed to some person. Thirdly, he might be hired out to some person by his owner by the day, month, or year, in town or country, for a stipulated amount. Fourthly, he might be allowed industrial freedom by his owner, or the privilege of working when and where he could find employment at his trade, either with or without previous agreement with the owner by the person employing such a slave. The condition on which the slave was allowed such freedom was that of turning over to the owner, at stated intervals, all or an agreed portion of the wages earned. A slave hired out or allowed freedom to work might be very profitable, since the return from the labor was practically all profit—a condition not possible when he was kept on the plantation and supported by the owner. Slaves might also be employed in considerable numbers by an individual or a group of persons who were producing goods in quantities. Such slaves might be owned, held as apprentices, or hired for the purpose.³¹

We may also note that five stages of production are represented in this industrial development of South Carolina, viz., first, plantation manufactures for home consumption; secondly, plantation manufactures for the purpose of disposing of a surplus within the colony; thirdly, plantation manufactures for export (the last two were known respectively as the domestic-commercial, and commercial stages); fourthly, the stage in which individual artisans or others owned or hired slaves and employed them for the purpose of selling the whole of their product, or the whole of their time and skill, for a price specified; and fifthly, the shop and factory stage of producing manufactured goods wholly by slave labor with the purpose of disposing of the whole surplus.

Evidence of the first stage, home or plantation manufactures, is best illustrated by the advertisements offering at public sale, often at auction, large lots of slaves, usually in connection with the sale

³¹ Illustrations of these relationships follow.

of a complete plantation, with lands, houses, equipment, stock, etc. Eighteen such notices, at least, are found in the *South Carolina Gazettes* before the Revolution, over half of them between 1760 and 1776. The total number of slaves in each case varied from about ten to seventy, the indefinite word "parcel" being used a number of times. In all these cases there is mention of the fact that some of the slaves are artisans, tradesmen, or skilled workers in some occupation. As the exact number of slaves of this character is seldom given, it is difficult to estimate the proportion having special skill. A typical advertisement reads as follows: "About Fifty Valuable Slaves, among which are sundry tradesmen, such as Bricklayers, Carpenters, Coopers, Sawyers, Shoemakers, Tanners, Curriers and Boat-men."³² Another states that there would be sold "A Parcel of Slaves belonging to the estate of Mrs. Mary Frost, deceased, consisting of sawyers, mowers, a very good caulker, a tanner, a compleat tight cooper, a sawyer, squarer and rough carpenter".³³ One woman was a "washer, ironer and spinner". In another lot of twenty, mention is made of sawyers, a jobbing carpenter, and butcher, "and most of the fellows acquainted with lime making".³⁴

Advertisements offering for sale one or more artisan slaves are numerous, especially ship-carpenters and coopers.³⁵ Likewise there are numerous advertisements of persons who wished to purchase slaves skilled in some trade, such as house-carpenters, ship-carpenters, cabinet-makers, and blacksmiths.³⁶ Henry Laurens seems to have been in the business of supplying skilled negro artisans for the trade, for he advertises, in 1765, for two carpenters, two coopers, three pairs of sawyers, besides other workers, for field use and for indigo production.³⁷ Another striking example indicative of the supply of slave artisans is an offer in one advertisement to sell "five negro men, two of them tanners and three shoemakers".³⁸

³² *S. C. Gaz.*, January 28, 1751.

³³ *S. C. Gaz. and Country Journal* (supp.), April 26, 1768.

³⁴ *S. C. Gaz.*, August 22, 1768.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, November 25, 1732, March 21, 1743.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, September 22, 1746, April 19, 1760, December 10, 1773.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, February 10, 1765.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, March 21, 1768. A kind of advertisement which appears very frequently refers to runaway negro slaves, and many of this class were artisans. For example, as early as 1733, we find anxious masters seeking the following runaways: three negro sawyers, hired for work in Georgia; a mustee wench, who could spin, card, and do needlework; and two sawyers, for whose return a reward of £20 was offered for each one, an indication of the value of these men to the owner. Numerous examples of this sort could be given, involving the more common trades, e. g., a shoemaker and carpenter, a carpenter and cooper, and a ship-carpenter. *S. C. Gaz.*, April 7, 1743, June 2, 1733, July 28, 1733, August 29, 1743, January 23, 1746, February 24, 1746.

The practice of hiring out skilled workers must have been profitable, judging from the frequency of such advertisements. If such a man could be hired out, so that the cost of his upkeep would be met by the person who employed him, and a sum of money—say, ten pounds³⁹—be paid besides for his work for one year, that would be a very profitable investment, the interest on a thousand dollars for a year at five per cent. with practically no expense to the owner. We know that the practice was in existence from an early date. For example, a master offered to hire out a bricklayer and plasterer, by the month, quarter, or more or less time, in town or country.⁴⁰ Another offered a negro blacksmith by the month or year;⁴¹ another a bricklayer and a carpenter, both "good workmen to be hired by the month or year".⁴² The practice of allowing slaves industrial freedom, if the wages earned were given to the master, gave such artisans the opportunity to retain all or a part of the money they earned, and to work "clandestinely"—a common phrase of the owner when he forewarned every one not to employ or hire his slave without previous agreement with the owner. Thus in one case two negro carpenters,⁴³ and in another a bricklayer were claimed by the owner.⁴⁴ Another negro carpenter worked "clandestinely" about the town and defrauded his master of "several sums of money".⁴⁵ So also complaint was made that a ship-carpenter and a whitewasher converted wages to their own use.⁴⁶

Such an institution as the factory also existed in the pre-Revolutionary period. By this is not meant the factory system as developed later, but a building where goods were made by manual labor, usually requiring more equipment, several skilled workers of the same trade, and some division of labor, more than would be the case on the plantation or in the one-man shop. There were a number of such establishments in operation before the Revolution, which exhibited these features to a greater or less degree. In some of these institutions we find that the labor force consisted principally of negro slave artisans. From one standpoint, of course, many of the very large plantations, before the Revolution, were shops or factories, in the sense that they often manufactured goods in quantities,

³⁹ Landon Carter hired two negro sawyers (1776) for a year at ten pounds each. *Diary in William and Mary Col. Qr. Hist. Mag.*, XV, 17.

⁴⁰ *S. C. Gaz.*, July 23, 1737.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, May 29, 1755.

⁴² *Ibid.*, March 8, 1770.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, January 13, 1732.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1732.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, August 6, 1741.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, August 27, 1737, December 25, 1740.

had special buildings for the purpose, and made use of a number of workmen skilled in some one trade. Captain Matthews of Virginia, 1649, has already been referred to. The carpenter's or cooper's shop, where thousands of staves, hoops, headings, hogsheads, tierces, or barrels were manufactured, containers for tobacco and rice, represents a stage in advance of household production, the making of a few articles in the family kitchen. When such articles were made in quantities for shipment to the West Indies, they might with good reason be classified as goods manufactured in the shop or small factory.

Let us consider next the tanning and leather industries and the making of shoes. We may note in passing that there were exported from Charleston, in 1748, 10,356 pounds of tanned leather.⁴⁷ We find, in 1764, that two "valuable" negro men, trained as tanners and shoemakers, were offered for sale, "who can make any sort of men's and coarse women's shoes; either of them can make two pair of negro shoes a day".⁴⁸ If this statement is true it is evident that these two slaves might produce twelve pairs of shoes a week, forty-eight a month, or five hundred and seventy-six pairs in a year. If we cut this production a third or more, we still have a considerable output for a small shop or factory, with two workmen only, and it is easy to see why it might pay to manufacture shoes of this type rather than purchase them in England. Two years later, 1768, we find that John Matthews proposed to give up his shoemaking business, and to sell two or three negro shoemakers—"Said negroes have done all my business for nine years past, and are at least equal to any negroes of the trade in this province; the eldest of them only 22 years old."⁴⁹

With the approach of the Revolution, we find that small factories were established for the manufacture of cloth. Washington had such an establishment in 1767-1768, in which a variety of cloth—woollen, cotton, linen, etc.—was woven, both for his own use and for others. By the account for 1768 it appears that the weavers were one white woman, whom he hired for the purpose, and five "Negroe Girls", presumably his own slaves. In this "factory" there were spun and woven in the year 1768 for Washington's own use, 815½ yards of linen and 1355½ yards of woollen linsey, cot-

⁴⁷ Carroll, *Hist. Coll. S. C.*, II. 238.

⁴⁸ *S. C. Gaz.*, January 14, 1764.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, March 21, 1768. Two months later we find that Richard Downes will sell a negro shoemaker who "has been intrusted with the Care of a Shoemaker's Shop, without any Assistance from a White Man, for several years". *Ibid.*, May 24, 1768.

ton, etc.⁵⁰ We find also that the "Manufacturing Society in Williamsburg" advertised in 1777 for weavers and "5 or 6 likely negro lads from 15 to 20, and as many girls from 12 to 15", with a note added to the effect that "Negro girls are received as apprentices".⁵¹ There are also references to factories for weaving cloth, in which negro slaves were employed as weavers, in Maryland. Charles Carroll of Carrollton manufactured on his plantation coarse woollens and linen, woven in part by negro slaves.⁵² We find also that Robert Carter had a similar weaving establishment at Nominy Hall. A document, dated 1782, shows that Carter had six negro weavers, boys of from thirteen to nineteen, and four negro winders, three of them girls of from fourteen to sixteen, and "Kate", of sixty-five years, all under the management of Daniel Sullivan, weaver, "at the Woolen and Linen *Factory* at Aires, belonging to Robert Carter, Esq. of Westm'd County".⁵³

In South Carolina also negro slaves were employed in cloth-making. It is stated that the overproduction of rice in 1743, or the failure to market it because of war, "put the people [of South Carolina] upon trying to employ their negroes on sundry new manufactures of linen, woollen, etc., which they were before accustomed to take from Great Britain", but just at this time indigo planting became profitable and it defeated their interest.⁵⁴ A remarkable proposition to teach slaves the art of linen, woollen, and cotton cloth manufacture occurred in 1766. The author of the advertisement says that he will teach slaves the raising of hemp and flax, "and the Spinning of both; he will take the Cotton, Flax and Hemp, from the Seed; and the Wool from the Sheep's Back and Compleat the whole". He had laid his scheme before the "Printer" and adds the following important bit of information: "The Above Person has Credentials from Pennsylvania and Virginia, where he has taught two *Factories* of this kind since the year 1749."⁵⁵

Several questions are suggested by the data presented. First, is the evidence trustworthy? We may agree that without doubt slaves were trained to the trades, and worked at their calling. The evidence gives some general notion of the practice or proportion of slaves so trained, and to a slight extent indications of their efficiency. It is desirable, however, to check the newspapers from other sources,

⁵⁰ Phillips, *Plantation and Frontier*, II. 325.

⁵¹ *William and Mary Col. Qr. Hist. Mag.*, XI. 95.

⁵² Clark, *Hist. of Manufactures in U. S.*, p. 191.

⁵³ Phillips, *op. cit.*, II. 314-315.

⁵⁴ D. Macpherson, *Annals of Commerce*, III. 260.

⁵⁵ *S. C. Gaz. and Country Journal* (supp.), May 20, 1766.

because of the well-known tendency of those that have goods for sale to overstate their value and quality, especially in newspaper advertisements. Fortunately we have additional sources of information not open to this objection. It is well known that one of the most persistent inquiries of the Lords of Trade was that one which called for data on the kind and extent of manufacturing going on in the colonies. There were certainly good reasons for the royal governors to make reports which would underestimate the amount of manufacturing and to convey the impression that England had nothing to fear from the growth of manufacturing industries in the colonies. Two very interesting reports are available which give some notion of the extent of the practice of training slaves as artisans and their contribution to the production of manufactured goods. Governor Glen of South Carolina made a report of this kind in 1751.⁵⁶ He stated that there were forty thousand negroes in the province, which if valued as "New Negroes from Africa are now sold" would be worth £20 sterling per head; but this valuation did not satisfy him, considering that many of them were

Natives of Carolina who have no Notion of liberty . . . have been brought up among White People, and by White People have been made, at least many of them, useful Mechanicks, as Coopers, Carpenters, Masons, Smiths, Wheelwrights, and other Trades, and that the rest can all speak our Language, for we imported none during the War, I say when it is Considered that these are pleased with their Masters, contented with their Condition, reconciled to Servitude, seasoned to the Country, and expert at the different kinds of Labour in which they are employed, it must appear difficult if not impracticable to ascertain their intrinsick Value. I know a Gentleman who refuses five Hundred Guineas for three of his Slaves, and therefore there is no guessing at the Value of strong seasoned handy Slaves, by the prices of weak Raw New Negroes.

We may note also that Lieutenant Governor Fauquier of Virginia reported to the Board of Trade in December, 1766, as follows:

But to give your Lordships a true knowledge of this matter [manufactures in Virginia] it is necessary I should add that every gentleman of much property in land and negroes have some of their own negroes bred up in the trade of blacksmiths, and make axes, hoes, ploughshares, and such kind of coarse work for the use of their plantations.⁵⁷

Another convincing source of information is the fact that in South Carolina both free white laborers and the general assembly were greatly disturbed at the rapid development of the number of

⁵⁶ MS. Transcripts for South Carolina from Public Record Office, vol. XXIV., 1750-1751, pp. 315-316.

⁵⁷ *William and Mary Col. Qr. Hist. Mag.*, XXI. 169-170.

negro artisans, and respected their skill to the extent at least that they made vigorous complaint of the competition between white and slave artisans. For example, the South Carolina Commons Journal of 1744⁵⁸ contains an interesting petition of one Andrew Ruck, a shipwright, on behalf of himself and several other shipwrights. He complains that negro slaves worked in Charleston and other places near the same town, at the shipwright's trade, and were "chiefly employed in mending, repairing, and caulking of ships, other vessels and boats"; that as a result white shipwrights could meet with little or no work, were reduced to poverty, and would be obliged to leave the province if not relieved; that such a practice would discourage white shipwrights from settling in the province; and therefore the petitioners asked that relief be granted by the assembly. This petition was referred to a committee who reported that five other ship-carpenters had sent in a petition denouncing Andrew Ruck and others, and declaring that there was no lack of work; that because of scarcity of white shipwrights slaves had to do the work; that the remonstrants were themselves, by trade, ship-carpenters, and through diligence and savings had purchased several negro slaves, and had with great care and pains trained these slaves to be useful to them in the exercise of their trade, "and to be necessary for the support of them and their families when by age or infirmity they became incapable of labor". The committee reported that the number of negroes hired out, "without a proportion of white men to do the business of ship-wright or ship-carpenter, is a discouragement to white men of that business", advised a bill limiting the number of negro shipwrights, and suggested an inquiry to ascertain the wages of this class of white and negro artisans. A report of another committee in 1744,⁵⁹ appointed to suggest effectual measures for increasing the number of white persons in the province, complained that one hindrance to such increase was that "a great number of negroes are brought up to and daily employed in Mechanic Trades both in Town and Country", and proposed that the negro act be amended by introducing a clause to prohibit "the bringing up of Negroes and other Slaves to Mechanic Trades in which white persons are usually employed". But the interest of many persons who were profiting from this practice prevented the passage of such a bill. There was an attempt to limit the practice by a local ordinance of Charleston in 1751. This order declared "that no Inhabitant of Charlestown shall be permitted to

⁵⁸ MS. Commons Journal of S. C., January 25, 1743/4, pp. 144-145.

⁵⁹ MS. Trans. S. C., vol. XXI., 1743-1744, pp. 332-334.

keep more than two male Slaves, to work out for Hire, as Porters, Labourers, Fishermen or Handicraftsmen".⁶⁰

A third source of information respecting the value of the slave artisan and the growing effect of his competition with white labor, is the evidence contained in laws passed to prevent competition. Laws were enacted in South Carolina in 1712 and 1740 restricting the right of the master in hiring out his slaves unless the latter were under some person's care. It was also stipulated that the owner should receive all the wages earned by the slave.⁶¹ A by-law of the trustees of Georgia, in 1750, forbade any artificer, except coopers, to take negroes as apprentices, or planters to lend or to let out their slaves "to be employed otherwise than in manuring and cultivating their Plantations in the Country".⁶² Later, in 1782, Virginia forbade masters to hire out their slaves and receive the pay.⁶³

Miscellaneous evidence of the value and efficiency of slave artisans is the testimony of Hugh Jones, in 1724, already quoted.⁶⁴ Governor Dinwiddie wrote in 1754 as follows: "I shall look out for Negro Coopers tho' I fear Success as the Owners of such do not care to part with them, but shall do my Endeavour. If you can purchase or hire, I shall be very well pleased."⁶⁵ A Virginia advertisement of a lottery, 1767, for disposing of lands and slaves, announced prizes of negro slave artisans with values, and certificates of the same, given by two men who appraised them. One was a "fine sawyer and clapboard carpenter" with his wife and child, valued at £180; another "was as good a sawyer as any in the colony, and understands clapboard work", valued at £100; a third, "A very fine Mulatto woman . . . [who] understands all kind of needle work," valued at £100; and a fourth, a mulatto woman who was a "very good mantua maker", valued at £100, including her child.⁶⁶ On the other hand, there is some testimony to the effect that slave artisans were not efficient. Washington gives us an unfavorable impression of his negro sawyers and carpenters in 1760.⁶⁷

⁶⁰ *S. C. Gaz.*, May 6, 1751.

⁶¹ Cooper, *Statutes of S. C.*, VII. 363, 407-408.

⁶² *Colonial Records of Georgia*, ed. Candler, I. 58.

⁶³ Hening, *Statutes of Va.*, XI. 59.

⁶⁴ Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39. See also notes 25, 38.

⁶⁵ *Va. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, Dinwiddie Papers, I. 421.

⁶⁶ *Va. Gaz.* (Purdie and Dixon), September 3, 1767.

⁶⁷ *Washington's Writings*, ed. Ford, II. 147. Some advertisements indicate the artisan's degree of skill, in the opinion of the owner at least, or the amount of special training that he had obtained. For example there were offered for sale "Four negro men sawyers that can whet, set and lay Timbers". Another offer mentions "two compleat Bricklayers—whose abilities in workmanship are inferior

But whatever the shortcomings of the slave artisans, the weight of evidence shows that there was a great increase in numbers; that they were of much greater value than untrained slaves; that they were much sought after; that they did compete with free white labor, especially in the towns; and finally that they were the most important agency in the rise of plantation manufactures. It is certain also that the negro slave artisan was an important agency in the commercial development of the southern colonies, first, in relation to the necessary manufactures connected with the export of tobacco, rice, and naval stores, the making of staves, hogsheads, and barrels; secondly, in the manufacture of staves and lumber and other forest products for export; thirdly, in the tanning industries, the making of leather for home consumption and for export. He was also a not inconsiderable factor in offsetting the evils of the English commercial system, in helping the planters to diversify farming and occupations, and in helping them to solve the most pressing problem of trade with England—that of avoiding almost certain debt and perhaps bankruptcy. By raising products more valuable than tobacco and manufacturing at home many articles resulting from the new sources of raw material, and by utilizing the natural resources, the tendency to get more and more heavily in debt to English merchants was lessened. Indeed it is hard to see how the eighteenth-century plantation could have survived if the negro slave had not made his important contributions as an artisan, in the building and other trades, calling for skill in transforming raw materials into manufactured articles. The self-sufficiency of the southern colonies, made necessary by the Revolution, was more successful than it could have been if the negro slave artisan had not been developing for generations before. We may also believe that the relation of the negro slave to the later history of the plantation régime in the southern colonies, in its industrial as well as its agricultural aspect, was greatly influenced by the industrial training the slave received before the Revolution. Finally, we may conclude

to none in this province, of their complexion, being brought up by a person well experienced in that business". More convincing of the possible skill of the negro slave is a "want advertisement": "Wanted in the Country immediately, on Hire by the Month or Year or job, two Negro Carpenters That can frame a Barn of any Dimensions or Plantation Out-Building on Sills". Negro artisans who had served a regular apprenticeship were of course likely to have the most skill in their trade. One such was offered for sale with this description, viz., a negro carpenter who had served seven years to one of the "Compleatest House-joiners in the Province". *S. C. Gaz.*, February 1, 1734/35, September 7, 1769, July 9, 1772; *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, February 7, 1770.

that the evidence given of the industrial training of the negro slave is important in estimating the development of his intelligence and his capacity for the acquisition of mechanical skill. The industrial discipline which the slave received in the pre-Revolutionary period both prepared the way for his freedom, and no doubt lessened the shock when it came, and laid the foundation for his later status in a modern industrial and agricultural society.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

DOCUMENTS

Henry Adams and Garibaldi, 1860

In the spring of 1860 Henry Adams, then twenty-two years of age, travelled southward through Italy. The reader of the *Education of Henry Adams* will certainly remember his May in Rome. The narrative proceeds (p. 93):

He went on to Naples, and there, in the hot June, heard rumors that Garibaldi and his thousand were about to attack Palermo. Calling on the American Minister, Chandler of Pennsylvania, he was kindly treated, not for his merit, but for his name, and Mr. Chandler amiably consented to send him to the seat of war as bearer of despatches to Captain Palmer of the American sloop of war *Iroquois*. Young Adams seized the chance, and went to Palermo in a government transport filled with fleas, commanded by a charming Prince Caracciolo.

He told all about it to the *Boston Courier*, where the narrative probably exists to this day, unless the files of the *Courier* have wholly perished.

The files of the *Boston Courier* have not wholly perished, though few copies survive. Of the seven Italian letters from Adams (to his brother Charles) printed there, the last two, and the only two that have any considerable historical interest, are those which are reprinted below, from the *Courier* of July 10 and July 13 respectively.

Readers of Mr. George M. Trevelyan's delightful volumes do not need to be told that there is no lack of material for the history of Garibaldi in Palermo, and the youthful Adams's letters add little of positive fact; yet we believe that many readers will be glad to see these sketches of a hero, viewed "at the moment of his greatest achievement and most splendid action" with the most penetrating of American eyes. Adams has described the interview in the *Education*, but that passage sets forth an old man's reflections upon what a young man saw. The letters printed below are plainly the writing of a very young man—but that young man was Henry Adams.

I.

PALERMO, June 9, 1860.

AT Naples we knew next to nothing about the state of things at Palermo, and there was a delicious uncertainty about having one's head knocked off or losing some of one's legs, that was gloriously exciting. Here from my room, looking out over the harbor and the bare old Monte Pellegrino, it all seems easy and simple enough, and quite a matter of

everyday life, but in Naples the prospect was like looking down the crater of Vesuvius. There on the morning of the 5th, I had to fly about from Department to Department, and never could have taken the first step towards getting here, if it had not been for the kindness of my friends, who pushed me along, and worked like beavers for me. After six hours of driving about in a sun that positively singed me, I got it all straight, and was put on board the steamer *Capri*, bound to Palermo, bearer of despatches to Capt. Palmer of the *Iroquois* and the American Consul.¹

The *Capri* was originally one of the Neapolitan line of steamers that run from Naples to Marseilles, but is now taken by Government to carry supplies to the garrison at Palermo.² We took two brigs in tow, one of them laden with nothing but water. You can form an idea of the management of affairs from that one fact, that even the water for the troops had to be brought from Naples.

Three long hours we had to wait for the Captain, who was at Portici,³ getting despatches from the King. Unluckily, the King forgot him, and went to dinner, so he had to wait till dinner was over. When he did come aboard, he was as jolly a little fellow as I ever saw, flying about and chatting all the time like a whirligig. He spoke very fair English, too, and as we had the whole ship to ourselves, it was as comfortable as any one could desire.

The weather was exquisite and the sea calm, and as the sun set, we steamed slowly down the bay of Naples with the two vessels in tow. Towards ten o'clock, when I went on deck to take a last look before going to bed, the moon was rising and I could see the island of Capri still on our left, and away behind us the great fiery blotch on the side of Vesuvius.

As we came along into sight of Palermo we heard the reports and saw flashes and smoke of a quick cannonading. I watched it with a feeling of decided discomfort. The idea of being shot, occurred to me with new and unpleasant force. The Captain however consoled me with the assurance that Garibaldi had no cannon, and that this was probably an admiral's salute from the war-ships in the harbor. So we drank a bottle of beer together and told the anxious old gunner that he might have those four precious six-pounders of his unshotted. It was nine o'clock at night when we entered the harbor and passing a number of great ships of war, we came to anchor near the British admiral and there we lay all night.

The Captain's brother came to take supper with us and give us the latest news, which all parties seemed indifferent to; so when we had finished eating, we sat on deck smoking and talking and listening to a band which was playing waltzes on board the *Hannibal*.⁴ There was

¹ Commander James S. Palmer, who afterward won great distinction, commanding the *Iroquois* under Farragut, at the passage of Vicksburg. The consul was Henry H. Barstow.

² The *Capri* had taken part in the firing on Marsala after the landing of the Thousand there on May 11, and later, May 28-29, had brought reinforcements from Naples to Palermo. Rear-Adm. H. F. Winnington-Ingram, *Hearts of Oak*, p. 198; London *Times*, May 18, June 8.

³ Five miles from Naples, on the slopes of Vesuvius.

⁴ The flag-ship of the British squadron under Sir Rodney Mundy (Rodney's grandson).

just moon enough to show how silent and calm and black everything was, just as if no Garibaldi were within a thousand miles.

The next morning, the 7th, I went on board our war steamer, the *Iroquois*, and presented the papers I was charged with, and from here to an American merchant vessel, to find our Consul. I found him bearing bravely up, though he had been some three weeks penned up with several other families, on this temporary boarding house, living from hand to mouth.⁵ The deck as I saw it was paved to some depth with dogs, chickens, pigs, fleas, babies, trunks and other articles. His spirits were good, however, under all this weight of trials, and he was preparing to return to-day to his house on shore. The English, by the way, were luckier than the Americans during the troubles, for their line-of-battle ship the *Hannibal* was turned into a hotel and baby-house, price nine shillings a day, bed and board. We have no large ships in the Mediterranean now, so paid famine prices for accommodations on board the merchant vessels. Now, however, all was quiet again, and the day I arrived the whole of the refugees were striking for shore.

I took a boat and landed. Numbers of men and boys, nearly all armed and looking very disreputable, were lounging and talking on the quay and round the Porta Felice.⁶ Here and there a red shirt showed itself. They make a very good uniform—rowdy but pugnacious; and now that Garibaldi has made them immortal, all young Sicily is putting them on, and swelling about in them almost as vulgarly, though more excusably, than New York firemen.

Of course you know the whole story of the campaign by this time, and as I am not writing a history of events, but only an account of a flying visit to the city, there is no use in my repeating what everybody has heard. But just to show you how I found affairs, I will note a few of the dates again.

At about three o'clock, the morning of Sunday, May 27th, Garibaldi dismounted from his horse at the Porta Termini,⁷ and coolly puffed away at his cigarette while he urged on his fifteen hundred men into the city. All Palermo rose at once. The street fighting and barricading lasted all that day, and that night Garibaldi slept, if he slept at all, in the Senatorial Palace,⁸ the very heart of the city, directly cutting in between the royal palace at one end of the straight main street, the Toledo, and the harbor and the castle at the other end, and isolating the royal troops in several separate positions. This was a real Garibaldian move, which ought to have cost him his life and the Sicilians their cause; but as it did not, it put the whole game in his hands. The next day and Tuesday, the barricading and bombarding continued; a good deal of property was destroyed and a good many old people, women and children were killed;—but Garibaldi was the stronger for every bomb that fell. On Wednesday the 30th, the Governor⁹ yielded to a cessation of arms,

⁵ But Consul Barstow, as his correspondence in the archives of the State Department shows, had witnessed from his own house the entrance of Garibaldi's forces into the city on the morning of May 27.

⁶ The chief entrance into the city from the water-side, at the foot of the Toledo (now Corso Vittorio Emanuele).

⁷ Now the Porta Garibaldi, at the south side of the city.

⁸ The Pretorio, or Palazzo Municipale.

⁹ General Ferdinando Lanza.

which, on Saturday, was changed into a capitulation and evacuation of the city; a most ludicrously disgraceful proceeding, for which the King would, I think, be justified in blowing the General's brains out with his own royal revolver.

So you see already more than a week had passed since the grand fight, when on the morning of the 7th we watched from the *Iroquois* the long line of Neapolitan troops wind along round the city, with drums beating and colors flying, to their temporary quarters at the Mole. Two hours afterward, when I went on shore, the whole city, except the Castle, was fairly evacuated, and his Majesty's twenty-three thousand troops had shown themselves worthy of their reputation.

So, when I arrived, the lively part of the campaign was over. The shops were still shut and the city still in arms, but there was no more fighting, nor was it likely there would be any more in Palermo. Of course the first explorations were towards the main street, the Toledo, which the Royal troops could have raked up and down—from one end from the palace, and at the other from their frigates in the harbor. There were barricades at every five or six rods, higher than my head, and mostly cannon-proof.¹⁰ Swarms of people were hurrying about, but no one was doing any work that I saw, except a few Piedmontese on guard at important points. Almost every one had a gun on his shoulder, and the peasants who had come down from the interior in crowds looked about as dirty, as lazy, and as degraded as the best conservative could wish. They were sleeping in the squares, or lounging in groups round the guard-houses, their guns in their hands, and in costumes very suggestive of brigands and cut-throats. It was a strange collection of arms that the insurgents had. There were guns of every shape and length, from the short, fat blunderbuss, suggestive of stage-coaches and highway robberies two centuries ago, up to long-barreled, thin affairs, such as the Arabs might have shot with when Mahomet was a small boy. There were plenty of Neapolitan muskets about, too, which deserters had brought, or cowards had thrown away to run better. All the townspeople seemed to have a rage for cutlasses and dirks, which were half the time tied over their shoulders with twine. Among other armed individuals there was a priest in his black robes, rushing about day after day, with a gun in his hand. A large average of the arms were too old and rusty to be dangerous to any one but the owner. Providence seemed particularly kind to the city, for though every one was carrying his gun loaded and capped and sometimes at full cock, and jamming against the stone barricades in the crowds at the narrow passages, and gesticulating as only these Sicilians and Neapolitans can gesticulate, we heard of no one case of an accident, though it is hardly possible but that there must have been a few. Still to do the Sicilians justice, for all their laziness and brutish look and dirt, it was a peaceable, good-natured crowd, and I have seen in all only one drunken man, and no fighting nor insolence. Perhaps it might not be so well behaved if Garibaldi was not dictator.

I passed barricade after barricade till I came to the Senatorial palace, where the headquarters of the insurgents are. This is not directly on the Toledo, but a little to one side. Before it, there is a small square,

¹⁰ In one of Consul Barstow's despatches, at the Department of State, he has inserted a printed map of Palermo on which he has marked in ink the positions of all the barricades, and of the Neapolitan cannon.

and what the naval officers call the improper fountain, improper because there is half *Lempriere's Classical Dictionary* on it, but a copious insufficiency of costume. There I found a still greater confusion and chaos, and crowds of desperately patriotic Sicilians were sleeping, eating, chattering and howling under the windows of the General-in-Chief. I stopped a minute here to look at fire-cannon of all ages and sizes, mounted on wagon-wheels and looking like the very essence of revolution, rusty, dirty and dangerous to the men that used them. These were new arrivals under Colonel Orsini, for Garibaldi had none in the fight. It is curious how the cannon make their appearance in the city. I met to-day, the 9th, with a splendid new barricade towards the castle, and in it two heavy iron cannon apparently ready for action at any instant for there was a strong guard of red shirts there, to say nothing of a crowd of armed ragamuffins. Garibaldi must have a dozen now, at the very least, and some are good little field-pieces. They say that these are old cannon buried in 1849, and now dug up again.

A little way above the head-quarters, the other great street of Palermo¹¹ crosses the Toledo at right angles, and from this spot one can look out of four gates at four quarters of the compass. Can you imagine a General with two thousand foreign troops and twenty-one thousand native troops who would lose a city like this? Still a little way further and I met a high barricade with two heavy cannon, which commanded the Toledo straight up to the royal palace and the city gate. Some red shirts were on guard there, armed half with muskets and half with rough pikes. Just beyond this I met another guard of Piedmontese who stopped me and turned me back by "Excellency's orders." As they apologized and were deeply pained, as they declared, to have to do it, I felt rather flattered than otherwise, and turning back took the first side street to the left. There is no use describing the looks of the thing, for by this time you probably know more about it than I do myself. It was now comparatively respectable to what it had been, and the dead bodies and disgusting sights had all been cleared away. After a long detour and a very indefinite idea of my whereabouts, I made my way through all the particularly nasty lanes and alleys I could find, back to the Toledo. For dirt Palermo is a city equalled by few. I do not know whether I ran any danger of being robbed; indeed it hardly occurred to me that it was possible. I never dreamed of going armed, was all alone, and looked I suppose a good deal as if I had just stepped out of the Strand in London, so far as dress went, but no one spoke to me or interfered with me in any way. Possibly Garibaldi may have exercised some influence on the robbers and rascals, for he has them shot as they are taken, and the people occasionally amuse themselves by kicking and stoning them to death. I believe about a dozen have kicked their heels at heaven already by the Dictator's orders.

After fairly seeing it all, I came to the conclusion in the first place that Garibaldi was all he was ever said to be. He and his Piedmontese are the whole movement; the rest is not enough to stand by itself now. Put a weaker hand than his here, and see how long these wild brigands would keep order and hold together. I do not pretend to judge of a country where I have only been three days, but my own belief is that Sicily is a bad lot, and it will take many years to make her a good one.

¹¹ The Via Maqueda.

In the second place, let people say what they will, it is utterly inconceivable to me how any sane general, with twenty-three thousand troops, cannon, fortified positions, ships of war, and uncontrolled powers, could have the brazen face to surrender the city.¹² Disaffection in the troops does not account for it. You can depend upon it, that no honest general could submit to such a disgrace as that and live after it. It is one of those things which I could never have believed, and which in any country but Naples would be impossible.

Dreadfully hot and tired, I eat some ice cream and came back to the hotel. Here one's time is agreeably divided between hunting for fleas and watching the fleet in the harbor, which is always firing salutes and making a most hideous noise with them. Almost every nation has its flag here. People are a good deal surprised that we have only one war steamer, and that a small one. We ought to have some line-of-battle ships round Sicily and Naples now.

At dinner we had quite a famous party. The celebrated Colonel Türr¹³ sat at the head of the table, next to him the correspondent of the *London Times*, then another of Garibaldi's Colonels, then the correspondent of the *London Illustrated News*, then I think Colonel Orsini, and so on. Brixio¹⁴ is also in the same hotel, and a number of other celebrities.

That same afternoon at six o'clock, I was taken to see the Dictator. The party was five in all, officers and civilians, and the visit was informal; indeed, Garibaldi seems to discourage all formality, and though he has just now all the power of an Emperor, he will not even adopt the state of a General. Europeans are fond of calling him the Washington of Italy, principally because they know nothing about Washington. Catch Washington invading a foreign kingdom on his own hook, in a fireman's shirt! You might as well call Tom Sayers,¹⁵ Sir Charles Grandison.

We walked up the Toledo and found the little square before the palace¹⁶ even rowdier than usual. A band of musicians had been raked together, and they were marching about and making a great noise, and looking very dirty and ragged, with a most varied collection of instru-

¹² But Lanza was seventy-two, deaf, infirm, and his vicereignty had only begun on May 17. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, p. 266.

¹³ Col. Stefano Türr, first aide-de-camp to Garibaldi. Trevelyan, p. 213. The correspondent of the *London Times* was also a Hungarian of 1849, Gen. Ferdinand Eber, who had written for the *Times* from the Crimea, and was afterward for many years its correspondent in Vienna. Atkins, *Sir William Howard Russell*, I. 67; Dásent, *John Thadeus Delane*, I. 223. He had arrived May 24, from which date his letters to the *Times* are important sources of our knowledge. Along with his functions as war correspondent, he sought and obtained command under Garibaldi, and led the column which marched on Catania. Mundy, *H. M. S. Hannibal at Palermo and Naples*, p. 103; Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*, pp. 66-67. The correspondent of the *Illustrated London News* was the artist Frank Vizetelly.

¹⁴ Col. Nino Bixio is meant.

¹⁵ The most famous of prize-fights, Sayers vs. Heenan, had just been fought, April 17.

¹⁶ Still the Palazzo Municipale. Garibaldi did not remove to the royal palace till June 12.

ments. Of course the louder they played, the louder the people howled *viva Italia*, and the more chaotic the crowd became. The effect was quite striking, except that it was rather laughable.

We did not stop to look at this long, for the crowd made way to the uniforms, and the sentries at the steps presented arms as we passed. It was nearly the same scene inside the palace as outside. One saw everywhere the head-quarters of revolution pure and simple. On the staircase and in the ante-rooms there was a chaos broken loose, of civilians, peasants, priests, servants, sentries, deserters from the royal army, red-shirts, and the blue-shirts, too, of Orsini's artillery, and all apparently perfectly at home. We had no time to look carefully, however, but passed straight on, every one showing us the greatest respect, until finally the third door opened, and there we were, in the presence of a hero.

Garibaldi had apparently just finished his dinner, and was sitting at a corner window talking with four or five visitors, gentlemen and ladies of Palermo. He rose as we came in, and came forward shaking hands with each of the party as we were introduced. He had his plain red shirt on, precisely like a fireman, and no mark of authority. His manner is, as you know of course, very kind and off-hand, without being vulgar or demagogic. He talked with each of us, and talked perfectly naturally; no stump oratory and no sham. Just as an instance of his manner, there was one little action of his that struck me. I was seated next him, and as the head of our party remarked that I had come all the way from Naples in order to see him, he turned round and took my hand, thanking me as if I had done him a favor. This is the way he draws people. He talked mostly in French, for his English is not very good.¹⁷ As for what he said, it is of no particular interest to any one, at least as far as it was said to me. The others can report the conversation if they think it worth while to report what was not meant to be reported.

But this was only half the scene. At a round table in the middle of the room, a party of six or eight men were taking dinner. These were real heroes of romance. Two or three had the red shirts on; others were in civil costume; one had a dirty, faded, hussar jacket on; one was a priest in his black robes. They were eating and drinking without regard to us, and as if they were hungry. Especially the priest was punishing his dinner. He is a fine fellow, this priest, a slave to Garibaldi and a glorious specimen of the church militant. I have met him several times, rushing about the streets with a great black cross in his hands. He has a strange, restless face, all passion and impulse.¹⁸ The others were Garibaldi's famous captains—a fine set of heads, full of energy and action.

Here I was at last, then, face to face with one of the great events of our day. It was all perfect; there was Palermo, the insurgent Sicilian city, with its barricades, and its ruined streets with all the marks of war. There was that armed and howling mob in the square below, and the music of the national hymn, and the five revolutionary cannon.

¹⁷ "The Dictator stated that he was sufficiently acquainted with the English language to comprehend it when either read or spoken slowly." Mundy, *H. M. S. Hannibal*, p. 127.

¹⁸ Fra Giovanni Pantaleo, who had joined the expedition at Salemi; picture in Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*, p. 66.

There were the guerilla captains who had risked their lives and fortunes for something that the worst envy could not call selfish. And there was the great Dictator, who, when your and my little hopes and ambitions shall have lain in our graves a few centuries with us, will still be honored as a hero, and perhaps half worshipped—who knows!—for a God.

And yet Heaven knows why he, of all men, has been selected for immortality. I, for one, think that Cavour is much the greater man of the two; but practically the future Italy will probably adore Garibaldi's memory, and only respect Cavour's.

As he sat there laughing and chattering and wagging his red grey beard, and puffing away at his cigar, it seemed to me that one might feel for him all the respect and admiration that his best friends ask, and yet at the same time enter a protest against fate.

As we came away he shook hands with us again, and took leave of us with the greatest kindness. As we made our way through the crowd across the square, we stopped a minute to take a last look at him. He was leaning on the railing of the balcony before his window, quietly smoking his cigar, and watching the restless, yelling crowd below. He seemed hardly to be conscious of the noise and confusion, and looked in his red shirt like the very essence and genius of revolution, as he is.

We walked up the Toledo to see the part which I had been refused admittance to, in the morning. The uniforms opened the way for us everywhere, so that we examined the whole ground at our leisure. I suppose you know all about it, so I shall not waste my time by describing it. Only take care of believing all that the English reporters say; not that they tell lies, but that they are artistic in their work; in other words, they throw a glare of light on their own point of view, and leave the rest of the picture all the darker. The Neapolitans are about the most contemptible nation I ever happened on, and this bombardment was a piece with their character,—but as for a fight between Neapolitans and Sicilians, it seems to me that it is just about nip-and-tuck between the two. Putting principles out of the question, the only sympathy I can feel with any party is with the Piedmontese. The Sicilian common people are famous ever since the Sicilian Vespers, and especially in the cholera troubles of 1837, for being the most brutal and savage crowd known in modern Europe.

So ended my first day in Palermo. The next morning there was still more wandering about the streets. The amount of red, white and green colors displayed is quite astonishing. Every one has a cockade,—or almost every one, except perhaps some of the foreigners. Placards are beginning to make their appearance, just as before the annexation, in the Romagna and Tuscany. "We choose Victor Emanuel the II. for our King." Garibaldi is bound to force that through, if he can, but I think his work here will be of the hardest. However, you are as good a judge of that as we are.

We had quite a funny little "looting" expedition that afternoon, up to the Royal Palace. Some English officers from the *Hannibal* and an American from the *Iroquois*, with some civilians, nine of us in all, went off to walk, and as the only walk is up the Toledo, we brought up finally in the palace. The Neapolitan troops had evacuated it the day before, and it was now held by a guard of fourteen Piedmontese. We had the run of the whole place except the state rooms, and of course made any amount of noise, and satisfied our curiosity, by going everywhere and

examining everything. Of course, a building which has had several thousand Neapolitan troops quartered in it for some months keeps little enough of its good looks, and still less of its objects of value, even if there ever were any there, which I doubt. The rooms were full of boxes, beds, scraps of uniforms and soldiers' accoutrements, fragments of manuscripts, books about religion and war, indiscriminate dirt and fleas. It was perhaps as dirty a hole as I ever saw, even in Palermo. Still, plunder is plunder, or "loot," as the Englishmen called it, and the party loaded itself with old woolen epaulets, braid, books, handcuffs, and so on, as mementoes. In the stables we found an army of hungry rats and a dead horse. In the guard-house, a wretched man who was to be shot within twelve hours for an attempt at assassination; this was a sight that I could have spared, for the people had pretty much made the shooting unnecessary. When we came out again on the square we had a grand flea-hunt, for the beasts were all over us by dozens, and they were the biggest and hungriest specimens yet discovered. The *Illustrated News* correspondent, who was one of the party, is to make a sketch representing us dancing about and diving at each other's pantaloons.¹⁹ The officers' white duck showed the game beautifully, but our woolen ones only gave them a shelter, and the consequence is that I am never free nor quiet, for my clothes bagged the most and concealed them the best.

Loaded with the plunder we marched back again, the grinning red-shirts presenting arms to us everywhere. Only one of us could speak Italian, but no one cared for that, and a crowd of the natives had something or other to say to us, good-natured and even liberal. One old brigand whose portrait has already figured in the *News*,²⁰ insisted on paying for our ices and treating us to Maraschino all round, which was very generous indeed, but the stuff was enough to make one sick, even though it were taken to Garibaldi's health. After it we marched down to the harbor with the romantic old bandit and his gun, in the middle of us.

I had now been two days in the city and had only one object more to detain me here. It is always better and pleasanter to look at more than one side of a question, and I was curious to see how it went with the royal troops, and as I had brought with me from Naples a letter to an officer of the Swiss legion, I did not care to leave the city without presenting it. So, towards evening to-day I walked round the harbor to the quarters of the royal army, perhaps half an hour from the hotel. They still have their barracks and are packed away in a great prison, a cloister and so forth. Three lines of guards stand across the streets towards the city, but I passed without question, and so did every one also, as far as I could see. The troops were just forming for the *rappel* as I crossed the great parade ground, so I delivered my letter to the officer, who was already at the head of his command, and sat down myself before the guard-house to watch the performances. The troops came on the ground with their music and all their equipments, looking as fresh and as effective as any troops I ever saw. There seemed to be no end to the numbers. They poured in, thousands after thousands, and

¹⁹ The inquisitive reader will find many interesting sketches of scenes in the Sicilian revolution, by Vizetelly, in the *Illustrated London News* for June and July, 1860, but not this.

²⁰ La Masa, no doubt.

packed the whole great space. I do not think I ever saw so many troops together before; there must have been hard on twenty thousand on the spot, all well-armed, well dressed and apparently well-drilled.

As they were forming around the square a small guard came in on one side, passing me, and had in charge an old gray-mustachiod Swiss, either drunk or a deserter, or both, who seemed terribly excited, and was talking in a half scream. The Major looked very grave, and disappeared as they brought the man in, but he kept on his screaming as they locked him up, and I could distinguish an endless repetition of "Do with me what you will. Life and death are all one now." Poor old fellow. I wonder whether they shot him. The King is in a bad way when his Swiss desert, for whatever faults the Swiss may have, they have proved themselves faithful, at least.

After about half an hour the troops were marched off again, and my friend came back to me and took me into his quarters. It is a queer place now, this city, for strange sights and scenes. Here was a battalion of foreign troops quartered in a Franciscan monastery, and the cloisters were all alive with busy, chattering German soldiers.²¹ We went up the staircase and into my friend's room, a monk's cell, furnished with half-a-dozen chairs, on which a torn and dirty mattress was laid, a table on which there were some lemons and oranges, and a lamp. A couple of glasses of lemonade were ordered, and we sat down and sipped it, and smoked and talked.

It was a strange place for a chance traveller to hit on, and I must say the general effect was gloomy to a degree. The evening was heavy and dull, with the clouds hanging low on the mountains, and as the little white-washed cell got darker and darker, and the hive of soldiers down in the cloisters grew more and more indistinct, while the officer was telling his story, full of bitterness and discontent, I really sympathized with him, and felt almost as gloomy as he.

Of course, one ought to hate a mercenary soldier, and especially one of the King of Naples. Very likely I should have hated him if he had been coarse and brutal, but as he was very handsome, young and well-bred, in fact quite an extraordinary gentlemanly fellow, the thing was different. His ideas were just about what I had supposed they would be. He and his division had arrived on the second day of the fighting, and had not even been in fire. He had personally nothing to brag of and nothing to be ashamed at. But he declared solemnly, as his own belief and that of the whole corps, that the King had been betrayed; that the city might easily have been held; and that though the greater part of the Neapolitan troops were cowards rather than traitors, there were still excellent regiments among them who would have been more than strong enough under a capable general. The feeling among these troops was that they were all sold out, and the commanding officer of the foreign legion had felt so strongly about it, that when ordered just before the armistice not to stir a step nor to fire a gun, he had gone to the Commander-in-Chief and with tears in his eyes, offered him his sword, protesting against taking any share in such a burning disgrace. The bombardment was just as bad as all the rest of the performance—as

²¹ On the new so-called "Bavarian", but more properly Austrian, recruits to the army of Francis II., taking partly the place of his Swiss auxiliaries, see Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Thousand*, p. 138.

cowardly as it was ill-judged. The soldiers had been badly treated, and were deserting in crowds; and even the Swiss and Germans were disgusted with the want of faith kept with them, in not fulfilling the terms of enlistment, and were deserting like the rest. He asked me what people said in the city about Garibaldi's plans, and the immediate prospect, and I replied that no one knew anything except the General himself. "Well," said he, "I will tell you the universal belief among us. It is that the embarkation of our corps is to be purposely delayed until there is a rising in Naples, so that we may not be there to put it down. You will see we shall not get back to Naples till it is all over there." Do not suppose that I believe all this myself. I only want to show you what the condition of the royal army is. Yet he said that even now, demoralized as the troops were, there were still enough good ones left, with the help of the eighteen hundred Swiss, to hold their position, and drive Garibaldi out of the city, in spite of barricades and all. Indeed, he did not seem to believe much in the Sicilians or their barricades, and called the Piedmontese the only real force that could do any fighting—speaking of them and their General as brave men and honorable enemies.

It was dark when I came away, and he came with me to the shore, to see me on board a boat. We had literally to force our way through the thousands of Neapolitan soldiers who were wandering about, chattering and laughing and playing. We shook hands on parting, and I wished him happily out of the whole affair.

"Yes," said he, "I think indeed the whole matter is now nearly ended; at least for us; and I am not sorry. I am tired both of the people and the service."

A tolerably mournful conclusion of ten years' duty, and a gloomy yielding up of a long struggle against fate. But we liberals may thank God if the battle ends so easily.

H. B. A.²²

II.

NAPLES, June 15, 1860.

My last letter, dated from Palermo, the 9th, announced that I should come off as soon as I could. It grew stupid there to one who was only a looker-on and not in the secret course of things. There was little or no society, and still less variety of amusements. Barricades are interesting at first, but one gets very soon angry that they are not taken down. It provoked me to see some fifty thousand men roaming about with guns in their hands, which nine-tenths of them would not dare use against an enemy, unless from behind a wall, and all the time the aqueducts were cut, and no one thought of repairing them, and the communication from street to street was as good as wholly interrupted. Of course, this was all right enough; and it was not to be expected that respectability should get the upper hand again so soon; but I speak naturally as a traveller, not as an insurgent.

From my window I used to watch the ships every day, and the dirty little boys on the quay who were making targets of the marble statues

²² Henry Brooks Adams. At a later time, Adams dropped his middle name—wherefore his *North American* article of 1867 on the story of Pocahontas is occasionally attributed to Herbert B. Adams, then a boy of sixteen!

of their kings. Bomba's²³ head was already stoned back again into a rough block of marble, and he had lost all his fingers at the time I left. This was the only wanton destruction I saw, and, under the circumstances, it speaks well for the Sicilians.

Besides, I felt sure that the first act of the melodrama was over, and that the second would not have Palermo for its scene. The most that could be hoped for was a popular vote on the question of annexation to Piedmont, and they seemed to be preparing for this when I was there. But the very idea of this rather hurt my feelings. It is, to be sure, a great compliment to the strength and life of Americanism, that Napoleon and Victor Emanuel and Garibaldi think it necessary to go back to our foundation principle as the source of their authority; but do you know, to my mind these European popular elections have a little too much demonstration in them; they are a sort of continual squatter sovereignty, and very like a satire on our theories. I do not pretend to be a philosopher, but I do know that if I were a conservative I should wish nothing better than these elections for an argument against and a sarcasm on popular governments in their whole length and breadth. It is a sword with two very sharp edges, this, and is apt to cut the wrong way as well as the right.

The *Capri* was still in the harbor on the morning of the 10th, and I took a boat and went off to her. The little captain was flying about in a crowd of officers, busy as could be, but shook hands with me as if I were his dearest friend and we had been separated for years. He was to leave for Naples that same afternoon, and would be most boundlessly delighted to have the pleasure of my company. Perhaps you will appreciate this Italian profusion of politeness better, if I tell you that the captain is a prince, and belongs to an old and famous Neapolitan family.²⁴

We were to leave at three o'clock. At four I came on board. Everything was in an Italian confusion. Everybody was screaming and gesticulating, or else lounging and sleeping. Some hundreds of soldiers with their wives, children and baggage, as well as some horses, were being embarked, and of course the scene was much like a pitched battle. On the shore among the soldiers there were a number of the famous policemen, the *sbirri*, whom the Sicilians have such a love for. These men must feel happy, very; for if they were accidentally caught, the Sicilian mob is not gentle, and they might find themselves skinned alive; or going through some other process of the kind. An officer of the *Iroquois* told me that only the day before I got here, he had seen one of these fellows lying in the middle, his head cut off and put between his legs, and a cigar stuck in his mouth.²⁵ Whether he deserved his punishment or not, of course we cannot know. But as a matter of pure curiosity I would really like to know how many of the men who served him up in that elegant way would have been policemen themselves if they had been offered money enough for it. There is, to be sure, a great deal that is admirable in this Sicilian revolution, but a great deal, too, that reminds one very much of a servile insurrection. Where is the Sicilian nobility and the gentlemen who ought to take the lead in a movement like this? or is there a single Sicilian competent to sustain

²³ Ferdinand II., the late king.

²⁴ He was a Prince Caracciolo; see the introduction, above.

²⁵ Vizetelly tells the same story, *Illustrated London News*, June 23.

Garibaldi or take his place? If not, of course it is the fault of the government they have been under so long, who have crushed out all development; but what sort of a people it must be, if a foreigner, with an army of foreigners, supported by "Native Chiefs" and their clans, make the only great force of the whole movement. One cannot always control his ideas and prejudices. I can never forget, in thinking of Sicily and the kingdom of Naples, that under the Roman government these countries were the great slave-provinces of the empire, and there seems to be a taint of degradation in the people ever since. It is not good stock.

It was past six o'clock before we got off and left Palermo and Sicily behind us. The first cabin was not at all full. A few officers of different ages, and a girl, the daughter of one of them, were all who sat down to supper with us. On deck it was different. The men were wedged together there, and every inch was covered. Among the soldiers were some few Germans, and I talked some time with one of them, a good-natured Viennese, who had served fourteen years in the Austrian army, and altogether had had quite a glorious career: Hungary in '48 and '49; Magenta and Solferino in '59; and now at Palermo. That is a curiously happy list for any one who seeks the bubble reputation. He told me all the story of his wrongs; how they had promised him thirty dollars bonus; cooked meals twice a day, and generally the life of a prince; and how on coming here he had found himself most outrageously sold; never received a cent of his money; lived like a dog, and for ten days since he landed at Palermo had eaten nothing but hard biscuits and raw pork. He was very good natured under his troubles, though, abusing Naples and the Neapolitans terribly, but seeming to think that nothing in the way of bad management had ever been known in his dear Austria. "They did not do things so there," he thought; and I did not try to convince him that they had done things much better. He was on the sick list, down with fever, and returning to Naples with some other sick and wounded. He said there had been a great many desertions in his battalion, which is new and not wholly formed yet. Indeed, I think he seemed, if anything, rather sorry that he had not deserted too; and though he scolded loud enough at Neapolitan cowardice, I do not think he seemed any more eager to storm the barricades than his betters had been. Such men as these are nothing to supply the place of the old Swiss regiments. His great hope now was that the report might be true, of the determined disbanding and dismissal of the whole corps, so that he might get back to his dear Vienna. Indeed, whether he stays or not, his military spirit is for the time gone. And so it must be with the whole army—all demoralized.

The captain was amusing as usual at supper. We drank the King's health with a proviso for his improvement, and discussed the political affairs largely. Every one is disgusted, or says he is. Half the army says it is rank treason that did the business; the other half says it was incompetence. I believe myself that if those generals had been fighting for themselves instead of their King, they would have done much more than they have done; in other words, as royal generals they deserve to lose their heads. As men, their behavior may have been highly praiseworthy, perhaps; though it is at least a question, whether a man does well in accepting his ruler's favors and rewards, and then betraying him. To us Americans, all these Italian troubles reduce themselves simply to a single process, by which one more of the civilized races is forming

itself on the ground that we have always stood on, and taking up as its creed the same list of ideas that we have always declared to be the heart and soul of modern civilization. Feeling sure of the result, as we must, we can afford to be a little cooler than other people, and being so strongly prejudiced, we can almost be impartial. So about the King, I feel more pity than pleasure at his troubles. I never heard anything bad of him, except that he is stupid and governed by bad influence; but people who ought to know, have told me that he was a very good sort of a man, as men go. It is the fashion to abuse him, just as it is the fashion to abuse the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany; but you would probably find that these are all good men enough, just as good and very likely a great deal better than you or I, or the writers in the *London Times*, who tear a passion to rags so splendidly. We, who are so far ahead on the winning side, can afford to try to be fair to the losers. The King of Naples is probably one of the few men in the Kingdom who has done nothing that he ought to be hung for.

It was curious to see, that night, how people can sleep. At about midnight, after finishing supper and smoking, and while every one was looking up their berths, I went forward to see how the soldiers managed to get along. They were lying all over the deck, tumbled down anywhere, and all snoring like hogs. They lay so thick and it was so dark that I trod on three or four who were in the way, but they did not mind it, and when the engineer, who was passing, kicked them out of the passage, they dragged themselves a few inches on one side, with a groan, but never woke up.

I was not so lucky. Recollecting my last night on board this boat, nothing could persuade me to go down below again, and so I appropriated a sofa in the upper cabin and with gloves on my hands to keep off the fleas, passed the night as well as might be, but little sleep enough came near me.

The next morning all was still, bright and clear. The poor soldiers' wives on deck looked very unhappy, and some, who had fine dark eyes, and pretty olive complexioned faces, looked so pale and patiently sad that they might have made beautiful studies for Magdalens and Madonnas. Certainly sea-sickness is one of the trials of life which brings us all down soonest to our common humanity; these women seemed absolutely refined by it, and their husbands and friends were as careful and gentle towards them as if they were all a set of refined and educated heroes and lovers.

We were crossing the bay of Naples at eight o'clock, and it seemed as though we were coming home, it all looked so pretty and natural. Thanks to the captain's politeness, we, passengers, were put on shore at once, and were not stopped long by the police, whose great curiosity was to know how it all looked in Sicily. Our information made them look all sorts of colors, as we had no particular motive to soften the story.

So my excursion to Palermo ended. Nothing could have been easier or more successful. It is something to have seen the raw elements at work, though one is no element oneself, and though before making a demi-god of Garibaldi one had better wait until it is fairly settled what he is going to make of all this, and whether he is not going to do more harm than good by the whirlwind that he is riding; still, a life has not been wholly uninteresting, even if the only event in it were to have talked

with one of the most extraordinary of living men on the scene of his greatest success.

Naples is much as ever. It is the gayest and liveliest place in Italy. The Chiaja²⁶ is swarming with carriages every afternoon, and the common people lounge about, useless to gods and men, but happy as life is long. Everything is military, but no one now believes in the army, and I have sometimes been dreadfully tempted to whisper "Garibaldi" and "Palermo" in the ears of some of these uniformed rascals, just to see what they would do. I do not believe they have self-respect enough to feel insulted. There have been rumors enough of intended demonstrations, but nothing has happened, and it is better so. They cannot do anything, without Garibaldi, and had better not try. There is a great deal of anxiety here; endless rumors of constitutions, insurrections, demonstrations and so forth, and just now the two vessels said to have been captured under American colors, are making a good deal of uneasiness in our part of the city.²⁷

This letter is duller than usual. You will excuse it, for it is the last. I've tried to show you Italy as I've seen it, and now I have finished it all. It would be interesting to stay this struggle out here, but it will take a long time, and, after all, the essential points of interest for us Americans are now tolerably secure. Recollect that Garibaldi and the Italians are after two separate objects; one is a Free Italy, and the other is a United Italy. These are two separate things, and though we all sympathize with their struggles for the first, we can afford to hold our own opinions as to the value of the last. That is purely a question of Italian politics, and interests us only as identically the same struggle now going on since fifty years in Germany, interests us; that is, as a minor question of local importance. Of course many people wont agree with this statement of the case, but I am contented to follow on this question the lead of Napoleon the Third. If you prefer to hold to Garibaldi, we can agree to differ amicably.

H. B. A.

²⁶ Via de Chiaia, a principal street.

²⁷ On June 11 the *Fulminante*, Neapolitan war-vessel, had come into Gaëta with two prizes, the small steamer *Utile*, Sardinian but first reported to be American, and the sailing-vessel *Charles and Jane*, of Bath, Maine. She had captured them on their way from Genoa to Cagliari, whence no doubt they were to proceed to Sicily, for the *Charles and Jane* had seven or eight hundred Garibaldians on board. *Times*, June 22, 26, Naples correspondence; Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*, p. 49. The despatches of the American minister, Joseph R. Chandler, in State Dept., Two Sicilies, vol. III., are for a time full of the "outrage", but the ending of the kingdom of Naples presently ended the dispute.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS

The Freedom of the Seas. By LOUISE FARGO BROWN. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1919. Pp. xvi, 262. \$2.00.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the eclipse of number 2 of the Fourteen Points, the phrase "freedom of the seas" continues to make its appeal. The timeliness of the present volume is diminished somewhat by the excision of the subject from the covenant of the proposed League of Nations. As neutrality, we are told upon the highest authority, will no longer fit into the general scheme of things, why discuss the freedom of the seas? Which is one way, of course, of looking at it—as a mere chapter in the law, or policy, of neutrality. To take this point of view is by no means to see the whole, as the author of this interesting volume has clearly shown. Indeed the phrase has been used as a means to combat exclusive sovereignty over the seas, to dispute fishing-rights, to break down monopolistic self-sufficiency, to extinguish the slave-trade, and even to protect it, all in time of peace, and generally to challenge sea-power in time of war.

The author frankly states that her narrative is based upon an "attempt to discover what the phrase has meant in the past". She shows that since Grotius used *Mare Liberum* (which of course did not mean the freedom of the seas in any modern sense) the phrase has been protean in allusion. The varying content has had some trace, some suggestion, of a common factor of a juristic kind—the "good customs of the sea", or the law of nature, or justice, or even humanity, according to the standards or policies of the moment.

Miss Brown's book is distinctively historical and not legal or theoretical in character. A bibliographical commentary shows the main sources from which the narrative was drawn, a really valuable sketch of the literature of the subject. One might suggest that Mahan's writings should have been included, while Stephen's *War in Disguise* and Bowles's *Sea Law and Sea Power* are but earlier and later chapters of continuous British commentary. Even if the book be professedly popular, an index might have been added.

Beginning with the well-known Antonine rescript as a text, the author traces the rise and fall of sea-sovereignty, passing into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the modified conception that the struggle for sea-freedom was essentially a struggle for freedom of commerce. On the one hand, with British sea-power there was developed "a field of responsibility for policing the seas until it comprehended all the waters

of the globe". Upon the other hand were the interests of commercial nations "more concerned with their prosperity when at peace than with their advantage when at war". Both made for the freedom of the seas in time of peace, for both sought a régime of law upon the sea. In time of war all was changed. Sea-power asserted the legality of the *Consolato*. Land-power challenged it. Those states, strong neither on land nor at sea, hoping to be neutrals more often than belligerents, sought first to modify the rigorous rule of ownership, and its extensions, by treaty stipulations, and later by an appeal to the law of nature. The contests of commercial interests and the influence of these upon the practices of maritime capture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are well described. The bearings of the law of nature and of the spirit of enlightenment are insufficiently noticed. The connection between the doctrine of sea-freedom and that of territorial waters, as developed by Bynkershoek, is not indicated. With the short-lived Franco-British treaty of 1786, the century-old commercial antagonism upon the seas gave promise of abatement. The wars which so quickly followed contorted, and gave a radically different connotation to, the phrase freedom of the seas. Barère sought to use it to curb British sea-power in terms which have been recently familiar. The attempt to revive the claims of the Armed Neutrality of 1780, had they proved successful, would only have assisted in the establishment of the Continental System. Pickering realized in 1797 that European land-power unchecked by British sea-power would be intolerable, a conclusion long deferred, or resisted, by his recent successors in office. The nineteenth century sought to establish the freedom of the seas by a series of conventions, the last of which, the Declaration of London, is the chief relic of a fatuous optimism. The law of the sea of yesterday, in the judgment of the author, has been a failure (with which conclusion one may legitimately disagree), and she asks, "is it not time to tear up the poor fabric and rear a better law upon a better basis?" This question is sought to be answered in the concluding chapter. "The only possible solution . . . is international control of the seas through a league of nations." Admitting that in time of peace the seas are free, "As long as war on land is recognized, peace cannot arbitrarily be enforced on portions of the sea any more than upon the sea as a whole without producing inequalities that nations find intolerable". Therefore international control of the seas through a league of nations must be predicated upon the extinction of warfare upon land; something which the most devoted advocates of the league do not now claim for it. The alternative is "future contention for that so-called sea freedom which really means sea power". These predictions do not seem profound, though in the present situation one guess is possibly as good as another. They do not add much to the value of the book. To trace the various meanings of the phrase from the period of discoveries, through trade rivalries and contests of sea-power, through the idealism of the nineteenth century to the shipwreck

of the Great War, was an excellent idea, and in the form presented by the present volume, it is well done.

J. S. REEVES.

Democratic Ideals and Reality: a Study in the Politics of Reconstruction. By H. J. MACKINDER. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1919. Pp. xi, 266. \$2.00.)

MR. MACKINDER is a man of distinction. He has been director of the London School of Economics. He is a member of Parliament. He has written *Britain and the British Seas*. But, up to the present, the most significant fact in his career has been the publication, in the *Geographical Journal* for 1904, of his address on "The Geographical Pivot of History". Since then, everyone interested in the larger aspects of history or human geography has waited impatiently for the book in which he would present his views in their definitive form. The book is now before us, somewhat disguised under the title of *Democratic Ideals and Reality*, somewhat obscured by being made to serve as the basis for "a study in the politics of reconstruction", but a very remarkable contribution, nevertheless, to political thought.

The book is, essentially, a study in the strategy of empire, and the author's thesis, reduced to its most obvious terms, is that whatever power controls the area of the Russian empire must eventually control the world. His own statement is, perhaps, less immediately intelligible: "Who rules East Europe", he says, "commands the Heartland: Who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island: Who rules the World-Island commands the World" (p. 186). By "World-Island" is meant the entire Old World land-mass of Europe, Asia, and Africa. By "Heartland", Mr. Mackinder, it must be confessed, means somewhat different things at different times; but, primarily, it signifies the central area of Eurasia, in which the rivers flow either to inland seas, like the Caspian and Aral, or into the Arctic Ocean.

This area has been of the utmost importance in history, and is destined to a still greater future. The marginal powers of the past, like Greece and Rome, have been overthrown by attack from the rear. The Russian dominions, based upon the impenetrable Arctic, cannot be attacked from the rear, and hence constitute an ultimate seat of power. An organized empire, entrenched in this area, in command of interior lines of communication, would be free to strike at will at any point between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

In chapters III. and IV., Mr. Mackinder considers this area, first, from "the seaman's" and, second, from "the landman's point of view". Chapter V., the Rivalry of Empires, is a study of the influence of Russia in European politics during the nineteenth century; the key to the whole situation in East Europe, Mr. Mackinder thinks, is the German claim to dominance over the Slav (p. 155). The recent war arose from the revolt

of the Slavs against the Germans (p. 170). West Europe must necessarily be opposed to whatever power attempts to organize the resources of East Europe and the Heartland (p. 171). Hence, to arrive at a condition of stability, there must be set up a "middle tier" of really independent states between Germany and Russia (p. 212).

In chapters VI. and VII., the author sets up certain principles making for "the freedom of nations", and "the freedom of men". There must be no nation strong enough to have any chance against the general will of humanity (p. 207); no nation may be allowed to practise commercial penetration (p. 219); every nation must be assured equality of opportunity for national development. In discussing the freedom of men, Mr. Mackinder shows himself a disciple of Le Play. If nations are to last, their organization must be based dominantly on local communities within them, and not on nation-wide interests (p. 228). Local communities must have as complete and balanced a life of their own as is compatible with the life of the nation itself (p. 231).

Mr. Mackinder has produced a book which is of signal interest and importance to all students of history and of politics. It is, therefore, with deep regret that the reviewer must admit that he has not fulfilled the promise of his address of 1904. Instead of developing the ideas there presented, and so making a permanent contribution to knowledge, he has elected to employ his materials in support of a political philosophy that appears to be out of harmony with the most hopeful tendencies of our times.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Histoire de Lorraine (Duché de Lorraine, Duché de Bar, Trois-Évêchés). Par ROBERT PARISOT, Professeur d'Histoire de l'Est de la France à l'Université de Nancy. Volume I. *Des Origines à 1552*. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1919. Pp. xiv, 520. 9 fr.)

THE region here in view is, in the large, that lying between the Vosges on the east, the Ardennes and kindred heights on the north, the Argonne to the west, and on the south the forest band stretching from Argonne to Vosges—approximately what the Romans included in their Belgica Prima, and the Church in its archdiocese of Trèves. In a stricter or more specific way, it is the region where settled the three Belgian peoples Mediomatrici, Leuci, and Verduni; where the Church built its dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun; where in feudal times arose numerous sovereignties, but outstandingly the duchy of Upper Lorraine, the duchy of Bar, and the Three Bishoprics; where since the Revolution have been the four departments of the Meurthe, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Vosges.

Toward knowing the history of this region fittingly, a great deal has been done; but thus far without attaining a satisfactory general synthesis. The material now includes, it has been estimated, some fifteen thousand titles. Those who would know, without long delving by themselves, the roads followed in the work and the principal things done, may consult the magistral survey thereof contributed by Pfister to the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* in 1911 and 1912. A good many general syntheses have indeed been attempted, but they have been concerned either with some one of the states—for example Calmet in the eighteenth century, and Digot in the nineteenth, on the duchy of Lorraine—or with less than the full course of the story—witness Kaufmann omitting everything preceding Carolingian times. And none of them would stand the full light of either the method or the knowledge of this generation. The time seemed at hand to try a synthesis that would at once apply to the whole region, extend from prehistoric times to to-day, and be abreast of present scholarship. This is what Monsieur Parisot has essayed.

As special equipment for the undertaking, he has whatever advantage may come from nativity and residence in the region, but chiefly a long experience both as student and as teacher of the subject. Born at Nancy in 1860, he arrived in 1898 at publishing a thesis in which *Le Royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens* (843-923) was so capably treated that that part of the subject may be said to be finished. The Institut accorded it the coveted Grand Prix Gobert. Since then he has done various lesser studies, acted as professor of the history of eastern France in the University of Nancy, and made ready the work now before us. The real date of this first volume should be 1914 or 1915, the manuscript having been sent to the printer shortly before the outbreak of the war.

Monsieur Parisot regards as the governing factor for dividing or periodizing his subject the successive changes in the case or relations of the region with reference to neighboring peoples or countries. For each period he sets forth the results of a carefully wrought questionnaire, covering in succession the general course of events; social organization, and political and administrative institutions; material and economic life, and diversions; education, literature, and arts; religion, the Church, and morals. The whole attained is closely reasoned, just, clearly jointed, and expressed directly and simply. It bears throughout the stamp of high competence. With it we are in the way of having for Lorraine the sort of treatment Monsieur Pirenne has been giving us for Belgium—a general synthesis by a single mind, with the numerous units entering into the story not treated one after the other but the entire lot of people viewed together, in all aspects and in their successive general relations.

E. W. Dow.

Select Cases before the King's Council, 1243-1482. Edited for the Selden Society by I. S. LEADAM and J. F. BALDWIN. [Publications of the Selden Society, vol. XXVI.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1918. Pp. cxvii, 156.)

THOUGH the king's council has been a perennial theme of historical study since the time of Fortescue, the present volume is the first attempt to present a representative collection of cases. The council was not a court of record, and it maintained no system of preserving records of litigation. Occasional records of cases appear on the chancery rolls, and among the manuscript collections in the Public Record Office are preserved some petitions to the council. If such a petition chances to be endorsed, it gives a record, often the only record, of the case. The difficulty of recovering these cases lies in the fact that there is no one place in which they may certainly be found. It is significant that Mr. Leadam was first stimulated to begin the search for conciliar cases by finding four such cases among the files of the Star Chamber proceedings. At the time of his death he had transcribed and edited eight of the cases in the present volume. Professor Baldwin then took up the work and carried it to completion. It is no small achievement that the editors have been able to draw, from material so unpromising, a collection of cases which are important not alone for the history of the council but for the history of English law as well.

The cases, thirty-nine in number, cover a period of 250 years. They have been chosen to represent the various aspects of the work of the council, and the effort of the editors has been to select cases which have a special bearing upon some larger problem. As the council was no mere court and drew no sharp distinction between its legislative and judicial functions, the presentation of cases which relate to statutes and matters of public policy is warranted. It is this which gives interest to the *Bishop of Sabina v. Bedewynde* (p. 18) which led to the Statute of Provisors; and *Taylor v. Rochester* (p. 2) which gives an interesting glimpse of the judicial scandal of the reign of Edward I. Other cases relate to subjects so diverse as disseizin, the outbreak of the London mercers against the Lombards, the office of the escheator, the claims of a papal provisor, misconduct by sheriffs, the Bedford riot, etc. *Esturmay v. Courtenay* (p. 77) is an early case of maintenance before the council, the forerunner of the type in the court of Star Chamber. Through these petitions in fact may be seen the gradual growth of the council's jurisdiction which was acquired through custom and acquiescence before the statute of 3 Henry VII. It is somewhat disappointing to find few cases that throw any light upon the relation of the council and chancery.

In the history of private law great interest attaches to the influence of the council upon the development of equitable doctrines. Professor Baldwin has given pertinent warning of the danger of stating prematurely the separate formation of the court of chancery. He shows very

clearly that the council did not receive criminal in preference to civil cases, and that even after the chancellor acquired a certain independence the attendance of the council in "equitable" cases was regarded as necessary. Likewise he has properly called attention to the Petition of the Hansards (p. 76) which gives the earliest recorded decree upon a petition to the chancellor, the decree being by the council. The institutional connection between the two courts is clear enough, but that the council gave expression to equitable principles is not plainly demonstrated. One suspects that the editor has not quite realized the legal situation in some of the cases. For example *Hogonana v. A Friar Austin* (p. 85) is cited as an example of "trusteeship in goods and chattels". Now the petitioner made no effort to enforce a trust, and quite properly; for there was none. What did in fact exist was either an obligation to account or a bailment. The same criticism applies to the treatment of *Norton v. Colyngborne* (p. 115). The appearance of cases before the council for which in theory the common law provided a remedy has little significance in the history of equity. On the other hand *Fouquire v. Nicole* (p. 118) deserves more comment than it receives. An important phrase is omitted in the translation, and the editor appears to have misconceived the nature of the cause of action. Moreover the use in the petitions of such expressions as "droit et raison" (p. 83), "resoun et bon faye" (p. 86, 95), "comme reson demande" (p. 97), "contra droit et raison et la promess" (p. 119) affords a clue which might have been followed with interesting results.

The editor has written an interesting and valuable introduction in which he has treated the jurisdiction of the council, its procedure, and its relation to other courts. This is followed by a detailed consideration of the principal cases. Our only criticism of the method of procedure is that there is an inclination to regard a case as an opportunity for an historical excursus, and that the notes give an immense amount of minute information which has little or no bearing upon legal questions. In view of the purpose for which the Selden Society was established, there may be some question whether it would not have been better to give a larger number of cases less elaborately edited. But the work as a whole possesses an enduring value and bears tribute to the learning and industry of the editor.

WILLARD BARBOUR.

Parliament and the Taxpayer. By E. H. DAVENPORT. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. HERBERT SAMUEL. (London: Skeffington and Son. 1918. Pp. 256. 6 sh.)

THE writing of a book on the subject of Parliament and the taxpayer from early times to the present day is a pretty large order to accomplish within the scope of 50,000 words. Such a task, so narrowly confined, leads to certain dogmatic methods of presentation that leave the reader somewhat in a quandary about the proof. The author might have as-

sisted the reader by references to the historical material that would support the conclusions, but practically no foot-notes grace the bottom of the pages to carry the reader into the material. The book has two pages of bibliography, divided into primary, state papers, and secondary authorities.

These criticisms, however, must not be taken too seriously, for the book is a real book, and stimulates the reader to make some interesting queries as to the wisdom of giving financial matters a much larger place in the teaching of history in our schools and colleges. This, however, is not the purpose of the author, who uses the historical material as a starting-point in the discussion of the practical problems of government expenditure. The thesis of the book is stated in a sentence found on page 74: "The truth became evident that control of revenue was useless without control of expenditure." With this in mind, the author develops a well-defined and clear historical sketch of the efforts of Parliament to secure control over government expenditure, followed by a significant analysis of the difficulties of such control in present Parliaments.

In developing the discussion, the history of England is divided into three divisions, the Pre-Revolution Control, the Post-Revolution Control, Modern Control and the Reform of Modern Control. It is pointed out that the gains in control during the Lancastrian period were set aside during the Tudor period, and defied in the Stuart reigns. Nevertheless there was a distinct gain, resulting in the establishment of a responsible executive. To accomplish this, Parliament used control of expenditure as a means to an end, to make the executive responsible to the legislature. The Revolution brought about a positive reconstruction of the public financial system, which established a real distinction between the personal revenues and expenditure of the king and those of the state.

The beginning of the national debt forced the maintenance of the distinction. The civil list had its start in the same period. An annual supply by Parliament made it possible to anticipate expenditure more accurately. In these gains the House of Commons lost interest after the Revolution of 1688, and Parliament did not really see that the prerogatives of the crown were taken over by the cabinet. The Whig Parliaments allowed the advances made to go by the board, and let the forms of parliamentary control be forgotten "in the *laissez faire* of an aristocracy". Now and then progress was made, as in the establishment of the consolidated fund of 1787. "The Age of Gladstone restored the forms of Parliamentary control, and indeed elaborated and perfected them: but instead of restoring the spirit, it killed it." Gladstone focussed the attention of Parliament on the formal regularity of expenditure rather than on the magnitude of expenditure. The House even now is handicapped by its own rules, and its inability to secure intelligible financial information. The incentive of a personal dispute between king and Parliament was gone, but the rules of delay set up by Parliament to protect itself against the king continued to interfere and delay financial

control by Parliament. "Yet although the modern House of Commons has the remedy for its grievances in its own hands, it still wastes its financial time in discussion on procedure arising out of fifteenth-century needs." It appears then from the author's viewpoint, and much to the surprise of the ardent admirers of the English budget system on this side of the water, that

If the whole financial system in Parliament is out of keeping with modern needs and conditions, it is not to be expected that members of Parliament will pursue with any enthusiasm the science of national economy. The dead weight of historical procedure does not encourage live financial criticism. The House of Commons cannot set about the control of the popular expenditure in the same way that it set about the control of unpopular monarchs.

In 1902 a select committee was appointed to consider parliamentary expenditure, but sixteen years passed without any progress until the appointment of the select committee of 1917-1918. This committee has done notable work in carefully examining parliamentary procedure and the expenditure of departments. Upon its reports there rests the possibility of some reforms in modern control of finance. With this hope in mind, the book closes with a discussion of ideal control. Through this it is hoped to secure, in President Taft's words, economy and efficiency, saving and saving for a purpose. While the way is plain through the process of ideals of economy for proper information, delegation of powers to permanent committees and sufficient information, yet "the will of the politician is uncertain. Nothing will be achieved until the House of Commons acquires a financial conscience; and it will never acquire a financial conscience as long as, on the one hand, it fears the Whips more than 2d. on the Income Tax, and on the other hand, the public accounts do not plainly represent the truth."

FRANK L. McVEY.

Albania, Past and Present. By CONSTANTINE A. CHEKREZI. With an Introduction by CHARLES D. HAZEN, Professor of Modern History, Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xxii, 255. \$2.25.)

THIS book belongs to a type with which every student of Balkan affairs is thoroughly familiar and which combines special pleading for one of the Balkan groups with a close, first-hand, and relatively comprehensive knowledge of the geographic, historical, political, and economic facts appertaining to that group. The type may therefore be described as characterized by a certain amount of genuine information more or less artfully manipulated in the interest of a political programme. For that programme, nationalist and ultra-nationalist in scope, the Balkan author would enlist the reader's sympathy in the ultimate hope of persuading him to give his active support to the cause for which the book

stands. Propaganda therefore, such as in the prevailing travail of the world seems to be the only sort of product which a Balkan historian, or for that matter the historian of any section of the earth whatever, is capable of turning out.

Since history of this kind is all that ever comes to us out of the Balkan storm-centre, there was no reason why Mr. Chekrezi, an Albanian, should not have been moved to plead the cause of his people, especially as they have proved themselves woefully inferior to their Balkan rivals as noisy demonstrators at the bar of the world's opinion. Of course no one in his senses will conclude that this reticence was the effect of a superior modesty. The Albanians have been silent for the simple reason that they have dwelt in the almost inconceivable darkness which antedates the modern instruments of publicity. This oldest people of the peninsula has never had either a literature or a system of schools; until just the other day it has not even boasted an alphabet or a printed book. Illiterate, stalwart mountaineers, very handy with the rifle, the Albanians have never failed to command the respect of both friends and enemies, but, ignorant of everything beyond the narrow range of their hills, they trod contentedly in the footsteps of their fathers until they were as completely out of touch with the advancing civilization of Europe as the tribes of the African jungle. The author indicates the causes but hardly explains with anything like scientific adequacy the unfortunate stagnation of his countrymen. As a pleader rather than a historian he is much more interested in the remedial measures which under the stimulus of the nationalist impulse have recently been carried through and which, in his opinion, must in the near future raise the Albanian people to the educational level of its Balkan rivals. At least two-thirds of the book is concerned with the events of the last few years and incidentally with an accumulation of evidence that the fateful petrification of Albania has yielded to the modern spirit of change. In its passion to survive, Albania has learned that it must acquire the mental outlook and employ the economic tools and spiritual weapons of its neighbors. It must become European, as Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumania became European a generation or two before Albania started. In a word, the Albanians desire to constitute a modern independent nation, and appeal to the moral sense of the world in support of their purpose. Unfortunately, that moral sense is hard to locate, especially when it is in conflict with victorious neighbors—in this case with the territorial plans of the Serbs, the Greeks, and the Italians. The author, who finished his book just before the congress of Paris came together, probably knows by now that the Albania of the future has for its shield and buckler its own indomitable spirit and nothing else besides.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Preussen und Deutschland in 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Historische und Politische Aufsätze. VON FRIEDRICH MEINECKE. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1918. Pp. vi, 552.)

PROFESSOR MEINECKE is not only a brilliant member of the University of Freiburg i. B. and for a quarter of a century editor of the *Historische Zeitschrift*, he is also the author of a number of excellent works dealing with modern German history. These include the life of Field-marshal von Boyen, a volume on Radowitz and the German Revolution, a general survey of the period of the German uprising, 1795 to 1815, and above all his stimulating *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, in which he discusses principally the relations of the Prussian national state with the German culture-state. It is these works which he has in mind when he writes in the preface to the present volume:

Essays and addresses which accompany the larger works of an historian, when collected, must of themselves round into a whole in which the themes of the larger works are variously preluded or summarized, but also substantially supplemented and followed out in directions which the strict coherence of a larger presentation did not permit.

Of the twenty-six titles in this volume twelve appeared originally in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, and most of the rest have been published in more or less popular magazines or in collective works. Only two of the papers, and these inconsiderable, are here printed for the first time. Nevertheless the volume has a very decided value. The style is fresh, crisp, and vivacious, and the presentation in short compass of these "summaries and supplements" is a boon to the reader who is not a specialist in the field of the author's studies.

It is in the first three of the five groups into which the contents are divided that we find most of the echoes of the "larger works"—in group I., on the general history of Prussia and Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; group II., on the period of the uprising and the restoration; and group III., on the period of Frederick William IV. and the young Bismarck.

In the first essay, entitled "Preussen und Deutschland in 19. Jahrhundert", Meinecke states the German problem of 1866-1867 as summed up in the proposition: "A federal state with two great powers in the federation is impossible." But behind this he finds as the "central problem" which engrossed the attention of the men of 1848-1849, the following: "Is a federal state with *one* great power in the federation possible, and under what stipulations is it possible if the remaining members of the federation and non-Prussian Germany are not to be stifled and oppressed by the too great weight of the most powerful state?" Paralleling this was the counter-query of Prussia, as to whether *her* claim to the protection of her historical individuality and personality as a state would be respected. Rapidly and brilliantly Meinecke sketches the views

of Stein, Gneisenau, Boyen, Paul Pfizer, the brothers Gagern, Arnims, Stockmar, F. Naumann, and others, and indicates by his procedure—as he does elsewhere—that he considers that the history of opinion is often as vital as the record of things done.

On the other hand, in group IV. of the series—on German history-writing and investigation—Meinecke clearly indicates that he has little use for the “social psychic” of Lamprecht, of whom he says (“*Die Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft und die Modernen Bedürfnisse*”, p. 464) that the historical profession must hold Lamprecht to be “a fanatic, a destroyer and spoiler of true history”. He adds that “the horizon gray of his abstract giant creations wearies one”, and that he is “already becoming more praised than read”.

In the essay in this same group entitled “*Zur Beurteilung Rankes*” (pp. 366–367), he sets forth this sound view of the terms in which history is to be interpreted:

The notion of “mass movement” and “collective forces” with which we are accustomed to work is indeed philosophically necessary in order to portray the great unities which arise from the confluence of countless single forces; but looked at closely it is seen to be only an abbreviation which summarily expresses the source of these unities, and therefore leads easily to misuse in application. The inner core of all historical life is and remains the “living life of the individual”, if one interprets the word of Ranke in the sense of modern experiences . . .

namely, as including also the subconscious sphere of obscure instinctive movements of the will and emotions.

The fifth group, entitled “*Aus der Zeit des Weltkrieges*”, includes two essays and an address, with the titles respectively, “*Kultur, Machtpolitik, und Militarismus*”, “*Bismarck und das Neue Deutschland*”, and “*Die Deutsche Freiheit*”. These contributions are very interesting, not only because of the light which they throw on the attitude toward the war of intellectual circles in southwest Germany, but also because of their criticism of such doctrines as that of the “two Germanies” made use of by our Allied propagandists. Herr Meinecke perhaps has as little to reproach himself with in the way of deviation from sound historician-ship as any of his colleagues in Germany or the Allied countries; but naturally these three papers stand on a different plane from the others in the volume. In his preface he says of this group that he has left the papers almost unaltered, “since each can be justified only in view of the time in which it arose”; and he adds: “We have all lived so rapidly that each has grown out of and beyond what he thought and felt in the beginning of the war or in the spring of 1915. After the war we shall have to submit all the steps of this development to a national self-examination, but even then we shall repudiate nothing which we have experienced hotly and genuinely in this monstrous time.”

The general effect of the volume is to remove somewhat that distrust of German historical scholarship, founded upon the prostitution of it by

Treitschke—of whom, indeed, Meinecke says: "The newer history-writing follows not in Treitschke's footsteps, but in those of Ranke, and . . . strives with conviction after Ranke's impartiality and objectivity as regards other nations, and corrects step by step the errors of portraiture and exaggeration of Treitschke's historical pictures."

SAMUEL B. HARDING.

The German Empire, 1867-1914, and the Unity Movement. By WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON. In two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xviii, 496; x, 535. \$5.00.)

MR. DAWSON, who has been interpreting German social and economic problems for thirty years, turns in this book to political history. Distinguished by a patient study of the sources, a sincere desire to be fair, and a complete absence of chauvinism, the work is the best account of the origin and development of the German Empire. Its value lies not only in the admirable narrative, which is thoroughly readable, but in the author's understanding of the German mind and his ability to discuss problems as they appealed to Germans. This does not mean that he has written an apology for Germany, for he is a patriotic Englishman; but he has produced a solid history and not propaganda.

The creation of the German Empire was the central fact of the nineteenth century. In the earlier chapters, Mr. Dawson pictures the movement for "unity through liberty", which envisaged a national German state resting on a democratic and parliamentary government, and traces its fortunes through the Frankfort Parliament, which he describes as "a failure more heroic and honourable than many brilliant successes" (I. vii). The Zollverein was perhaps the chief unifying force, but it is well to emphasize the reality of the Liberal movement in pre-Bismarckian Germany.

Naturally Bismarck is the central figure of the story, and two-thirds of the book is devoted to his career. The greatness of the man, intellectually and politically, is portrayed on every page, but Mr. Dawson persistently records the successive set-backs of liberalism with each new victory of might over right. The Act of Indemnity passed by the Prussian Diet in 1866 was the surrender not of the government, but of the Liberals, who "sealed the fate of their party and cause for over half a century" (I. 260). To what extent Bismarck was the evil genius of German political life—"In none of his known utterances will be found the slightest trace of sympathy with the political aspirations of the masses of the people" (II. 224)—is shown by the detailed account of party politics from 1871 to 1914. Liberalism was submerged by class warfare, for every party, except the Centre, became the preserve of a class. The government bought the Conservatives and National Liberals by a high tariff; and the advocacy of a more democratic system by the Socialists, for their own ends, only strengthened the reactionaries.

In foreign affairs Bismarck was the great realist. "He wished to make Germany strong and great, but only in order that she might be able to realize herself, live her own life freely and do her own work in the world without menace, and not that she might assert an arbitrary superiority over other nations, still less impose her will upon them" (II. 255). Hence, after 1871, his policy was peace, and his successors, Caprivi and Hohenlohe, clung to his traditions. The success of this policy is measured in expanding trade and in the high regard for Germany among the nations of the world till the beginning of this century. Yet there was a fatal legacy:

The German nation saw, and sees, its Iron Chancellor only as the great unifier at home, never as the disuniter abroad; as the gainer of new territories, never as the spoliator of neighbouring states. It does not remember, in short, that much that he did for Germany was done at the expense of other countries, and that in settling the question of German unity he unsettled other questions, which have never since ceased to be a source of international disquiet and danger (II. 267).

Moreover, "by the spirit and methods which he introduced into political life, Bismarck did much to pervert the moral sense of his countrymen and to lower the standard of public right in Europe" (II. 265).

Hence, perhaps, the "new course" of William II. and Admiral Tirpitz, upon whom Mr. Dawson places the responsibility for the catastrophe of 1914:

there grew up in the room of the old Bismarckian autocracy a far more mischievous personal régime of the Emperor, expressing itself in forms and measures which are contrary to both the spirit and the letter of the constitution. All initiative was taken from the Government; everywhere the Sovereign stood forth as the real director of public policy (II. 341).

Surrounding himself with flatterers who encouraged him in his vaulting ambitions, he prevented Bethmann-Hollweg, a man of peace, from coming to terms with Britain on the naval question, and allowed full play to the sinister genius of Tirpitz, a procedure the more dangerous because

Germany was eager for power and prestige abroad, yet troubled little to consider how these might most wisely be obtained; she sought empire, and in seeking it gave the impression that she expected to enrich herself at the expense of other nations; in both of these quests her ruler and statesmen were wanting as much in discrimination as in patience (II. 459).

It may be, as Mr. Dawson contends, and he is competent to judge, that "the idea that the people of Germany as a whole, or even in large part, were . . . bent on war is a legend [that] may be dismissed"; that "only a few responsible leaders of public opinion or men of political and social influence took seriously the intemperate oratory of the military party, still less of the Pan-Germanists" (II. 483). But whereas, "in the early years of the Empire it was difficult to pass Army Bills, even when

Bismarck was their advocate, with Moltke always in reserve, while to naval bills the Diet would not listen at all . . . latterly bills of both kinds were to be had almost for the asking, and since 1907 neither the Clericals nor the Radicals dared to raise a voice in serious protest" (II. 378).

The book ends with the War of 1914, which was due in part, so Mr. Dawson thinks, to "the growing disposition of the Berlin foreign office to defer to Austria and go her way", and the "complete control over the statesmen of Berlin" asserted by Aehrenthal and Berchtold (II. 516). The treatment of Anglo-German relations is singularly dispassionate, it being conceded that "in the colonial controversies of 1884 and 1885 England put herself in the wrong" (II. 213). Also:

Nothing that is known of the inner history of the Triple Entente . . . can be held to justify even the assumption that its purpose was to harass, thwart, and ultimately to isolate Germany. This, however, was the belief entertained in that country, and it cannot be reasonably denied that there were facts and appearances which must have made the belief easy for a suspicious government and a nervous nation (II. 480).

The naval rivalry "was not a question of right or wrong, but merely of different views of national interest" (II. 497).

One wishes that the author had discussed more fully the question of the Prussianization of Germany, and how far the fear of Socialism contributed to the decision for war. The relation of economic progress to political problems, however, is well analyzed, and there is an adequate account of imperial legislation and the disaffected provinces. There were not forty-one states in the Confederation of 1815 (I. 12), nor was Signor "Gioletti" Italian "foreign secretary" in 1913 (II. 517). Occasionally the date of some foreign incident is wrongly given. Mr. Dawson has evidently not seen the article of M. Goriainov in this *Review* (January, 1918) on the Russo-German reinsurance treaty, or he would not have written that "the terms of the treaty have never been published" (II. 527).

The author has not lost confidence in the German people. Writing in December, 1918, he says:

it is justifiable to believe that, under whatever form of government the nation may choose to live henceforth (for the choice, for the first time in its history, is in its own power), the Empire will continue; nay, more, that it will be strengthened in the end rather than weakened, by renovation and adaptation to the imperious demands of a new, and, let us hope, a brighter era of European and world civilization (II. 524).

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Germany, 1815-1890. By Sir ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD. Volume III., 1871-1890. (Cambridge: University Press. 1918. Pp. xvi, 437. \$3.75.)

THIS volume concludes Sir Adolphus Ward's three-volume survey of German history since 1815. The title is misleading in its modest limits, for of two so-called supplementary chapters occupying half the volume, the first covers the social and intellectual life from 1850 to 1900 and the second (of over ninety pages) deals with the reign of William II. to 1908. The volume then really concludes with the Second Hague Conference. Sir Adolphus holds that at about this point the forces in Germany making for international peace and good relations definitely lost the battle to the party of militarism and aggression. The judgment could have been fortified by carrying the account to 1911, but there is no stopping point between 1911 and 1914 and I hold with the author that the years 1907-1908 are the real turning-point from the standpoint of present values and interest.

The author's treatment has grown better and somewhat clearer in the successive volumes. This is due, not so much to his method, as to the simplification of the subject-matter by the overwhelming dominance of Prussia and Bismarck since 1871. The score of German states, princelets, and innumerable petty provincial statesmen who mobbed the unresisting pages of the first volume are now kept in reasonable subordination in the political history of unified Germany.

It is a colorless political survey of the Bismarck period that is here presented. Its strength lies in its dispassionate treatment of these twenty years. The encyclopedic method of the early volumes yields an advantage here when men like Bennigsen, Miquel, Delbrück, and Lasker are at least located in the political and party history of the two decades. None of them, not even the founder of modern Germany, really marches across a single page. If one of them even starts he turns back dismayed at all the parentheses and dashes he will have to hurdle. Particularly good are the accounts of the beginnings of German rule in Alsace and of the *Kulturkampf*. The accounts of the war-scare of 1875 and Bismarck's quarrel with Harry von Arnim are interesting even if confused, but are given space out of proportion to their importance in such a compressed narrative.

The whole work should be treated as a reference-work to be used with the index. This is especially true of the 125 pages on social and intellectual life, packed full with names, important and unimportant. The last chapter, on William II. to 1908, is a good survey from which the discriminating reader can select the points of future friction and international misunderstanding, particularly if he knows something of the industrial and commercial development of Germany, here wholly neglected.

Minor errors seem mostly the result of hasty editing; *e.g.*, Italian not

French troops entered Rome, September 20, 1870 (p. 44). Von Mühler was an unpopular not a popular minister (p. 47). Fueter's excellent work on historiography and the two volumes of Vogt and Koch on German literary history were evidently not used in connection with chapter VI., and are missing from the bibliography, which is only a supplement to those in the preceding volumes.

English historical writing on this period done even in the midst of war may point with pride to the excellent tone of this work, but among recent works the equally dispassionate life of Bismarck by Robertson and the two volumes on German history since 1867 by Dawson are much more satisfying than the volume under review.

GUY STANTON FORD.

Modern Germany, its Rise, Growth, Downfall, and Future. By J. ELLIS BARKER. Sixth edition. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1919. Pp. ix, 496. \$6.00.)

It is difficult to recall an English author who devoted himself more assiduously to anti-German propaganda before the war than Mr. J. Ellis Barker; there are few whose work was more useful in rousing the intellectuals in England to a sense of real danger. The importance of Mr. Barker's contributions was somewhat overshadowed by his Conservative affiliations during a Liberal régime but they are not likely to be denied by students of opinion during the war. As one of those friendly to Mr. Barker's general thesis and to many of his convictions, I should find myself in a quandary were it not for the fact that the question upon which I am to pass is the immediate value to the professional historian of the sixth edition, rewritten and enlarged, of Mr. Barker's best-known book. It may not also be beyond the point to touch upon the probability that the book may possess the elements of as valuable a judgment on the present situation in Germany as a contemporary author, as avowedly hostile to Germany, is able to attain.

The groundwork of the book was a number of articles contributed originally by Mr. Barker to the *Nineteenth Century and After*, and the additions to the book are certain of the articles written by Mr. Barker since its original publication, including some three or four written during the war. Without having made any elaborate examination, it does not seem to me that the material content of the book is as substantially changed as the publisher's announcement declares. Mr. Barker's own foreword is much more modest. The last two chapters on the future of Germany and Austria are the only portions which are really fresh and which contain Mr. Barker's latest convictions. They suffer inevitably from the fact that they were written immediately after the armistice. Mr. Barker feels that Germany is thoroughly exhausted by the war and that an immediate renewal of the issue is out of the question. He even thinks it probable that "by her attack in 1914, Germany has destroyed

not only the Empire but the future of the German race". If Germany should remain united, "it will be utterly ruined economically", but, as it seemed to him likely that the nation would divide into several parts, it would be doubly ruined. Mr. Barker concedes to the German advocates the point that, if economic and political conditions should remain on an ante-bellum basis, Germany would by 1950 possess in man-power and economic resources an overwhelming superiority to France and perhaps to Great Britain as well, but he felt in November, 1918, that the war was practically certain to limit Germany in territory and resources, resulting in an industrial stagnation which would retard the growth of population, and thus, by the transfer of industries to countries more favorably situated, actually to produce by 1950 a condition which would make the white population of Great Britain, and even France, larger than that of Germany. He saw "a democratic, impoverished, and sobered Germany".

The soundness of the historical portions of the book is certainly open to considerable argument. His proposition that the policy and character of "Prusso-Germany" "changed completely" under William II. is not one which the majority of students are likely to accept. The majority of books written before and during the war have been chiefly concerned with showing the identity of procedure during the reign of William II. and that of his predecessors, and, even though Pan-Germanism may not have been full-fledged in 1888, it was in existence and the main features of German constitutional life and economic procedure already thoroughly in being. There is again no constructive fact more important than Mr. Barker's opinion that the ante-bellum government in Germany was opposed "by the great bulk of the Electorate". This leads straight to the conclusion that the new government is genuinely democratic, representative of the people, and probably trustworthy, and gives real point to Mr. Barker's statement "that a new Germany is arising".

It is again very definitely stated (p. 311) that one-third of the German people were Socialists and also members of the Social-Democratic party. One of the commonest propositions of the political scientist has been the fact that the Social-Democratic party drew its chief strength from the elements of liberal and radical political and constitutional reform rather than from the Socialists properly so called. If we accept the estimates of the Socialists themselves as to their number, we shall not count any third of the German population. Mr. Barker also juggles with names when he declares that Germany "lacked a powerful liberal party", for pretty nearly any German, whatever his political stripe, would instantly reply that the largest and most flourishing German party before the war was a liberal party, *the* liberal party, the Social-Democrats themselves.

These facts are so essential to any judgment or conclusion about the last fifty years of German history that it is hardly likely that those who will quarrel with Mr. Barker about them as I do will approve of his

general historical propositions or agree that his facts and figures warrant his conclusions. I make myself no great pretensions to a knowledge of German history, but when Mr. Barker declares as a general proposition that the King of Prussia had during the nineteenth century more power than Napoleon I., he seems to me to show very little knowledge about the actual operation of constitutional machinery in Germany and still less about Napoleon. It seems to me to be conceded that the government in Germany was in the hands of a group of men who ruled partly through the imperial prerogative, partly through the Prussian legislative and administrative machinery, but chiefly through the Bundesrat. We learn also from Mr. Barker that modern Germany was the creation of the Hohenzollerns. One may query what he proposes to do with the generally accepted historical tenets about Stein, Maassen, and Bismarck. A not too extensive familiarity with Bismarck's correspondence would tend to show that his work was done despite a good deal of opposition on the part of the Hohenzollerns, and the least knowledge about Stein's life would prove that the great difficulty encountered in 1808 was the opposition of the crown. But when we find that Germany itself was merely "an enlarged Prussia", it seems clear that Mr. Barker's prime source of information on German history has been the Pan-Germanists and that he has read them with a rather hasty glance. Surely the history of Germany before 1870 will scarcely lead to the conclusion that Germany is merely an enlarged Prussia. The history of the German states since 1870 and their hostility to Prussia is scarcely consistent with Mr. Barker's larger proposition. It is a pity that a man who had so much to say that was true and who succeeded on the whole in saying a good deal so well should not have contented himself with his main proposition.

ROLAND G. USHER.

Impressions of the Kaiser. By DAVID JAYNE HILL, former American Ambassador to Germany. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1918. Pp. 368. \$2.00.)

THE work has a "selling title" which does not do justice to its contents. It will prove a disappointment to the reader who expects from the former ambassador to Germany an informal record of personal and diplomatic experiences, such as have given to the pages of Gerard, Whitlock, and Morgenthau a raciness not always consonant with traditional ideas of diplomatic discretion and dignity. In Dr. Hill's work the personal element is hesitatingly introduced and in no way affects the serious and scholarly tone of the book, which is in the main a review of German foreign policy under William II., with an attempt to define the Kaiser's responsibility for the growth and expression of the war spirit among the German people. In some chapters, indeed, like those dealing with German relations to Great Britain in 1912 (ch. VIII.) and British efforts for peace, retraced in the light of Lichnowsky's memorandum (ch. IX.),

the figure of William quite vanishes into the background; and of the illustrative documents introduced at the end, at least one-half are quotations from official books and other sources to prove Germany's responsibility for the war.

In general, Dr. Hill's work suffers from this attempt to do two things: to set forth the character of William and fix his responsibility for the course of events in Germany and to trace the rise of the Great War as the necessary development of German foreign policy. For the student of history, the reaction of the author on the surroundings and events of the beginning of his ambassadorship in 1908-1909 (chs. IV., V.) will constitute the chief value of the book. His personal recollections of the Kaiser, the haughty temper of the Berlin foreign office regarding the arbitration treaty of 1908, the move of the Frankfort bankers to do a good stroke of business in defunct railroad securities (p. 102)—all reproduce the tense atmosphere of imperial Germany in the prosperous days which prepared its downfall.

On the other hand, the author's attempt to establish the responsibility of the Kaiser for the trend of German thought which culminated in the war reflects, perhaps unavoidably, the temper of the critical months of 1918 in which it was written. Viewed in the strictly "judicial spirit" which Dr. Hill claims for himself at the outset, he certainly convicts William, out of his own mouth and by well-authenticated acts, of egotism, love of theatrical display, an inordinate fondness for the show of power, a tendency to regard himself as the chosen instrument of God, and a firm reliance upon the sword. As to the other interesting question whether, through the skillful exercise of the imperial power, the Kaiser "wove into one solid fabric all the threads of German self-interest" (p. 53) and whether "a different kind of an emperor would have produced a different Germany" (p. 310), here the author presents a well-reasoned discussion, but his treatment of the evidence is that of an attorney for the prosecution and not of an historian. It is the lawyer and not the historian who presents statements damaging to the accused with no other source than "it is reported" (pp. 69, 174), or "it is said" (p. 173), or who tells a striking story of the purchase and destruction of an American magazine issue without the slightest mention of authority therefor (p. 115). The historian will demand a sterner attitude toward such sources as Bernstein's edition of the *Willy-Nicky Correspondence* (cf. *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIV. 48, note) or of stories quoted as facts from Guillard's *L'Allemagne Nouvelle et ses Historiens* (p. 36) or Shaw's *William of Germany* (p. 64). He will ask for further evidence than that cited that William after 1905 "endeavored to form a close relation with Great Britain, in order to prevent an *entente* with France" (p. 83), or that the Emperor's attitude toward war is that it is a "great game" (p. 173). It is the lawyer and not the historian who could make the remarkable deduction from the ex-Kaiser's quoted expressions after the

assassination of Franz Ferdinand that plans had been formed between the emperor and the Austrian heir and that those plans, not having been published, must have been warlike plans (p. 239)! Finally it is the lawyer, not the historian, who in summing up overlooks such facts favorable to the accused as Italy's joint opposition with Austro-Germany to Serbian access to the Adriatic (p. 214), or who in reviewing Janushkewitch's testimony at the Soukhomlinov trial (pp. 287, 288), fails to state that the tsar's order to suspend mobilization was ignored by the Russian general staff.

ROBERT H. FIFE, jr.

The Cradle of the War: the Near East and Pan-Germanism. By H. CHARLES WOODS, F.R.G.S., Lecturer before the Lowell Institute, 1917-1918. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1918. Pp. xix, 360. \$2.50.)

THE foundation of Mr. Woods's useful commentary on recent conditions in the Near East consists in a dozen years of purposeful travel, of experience as a correspondent in peace-time and war-time, of careful study, of conversations on the ground, and of acceptable writing. After a preliminary sketch of recent Balkan history, he surveys rapidly the parts played by Serbia, Montenegro, Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, and the Albanians during the war up to July, 1918. He then takes up in some detail a group of situations which have been objects of his special study: the military highways of the Balkans, the Dardanelles campaign, the operations near Salonica, and the Bagdad railway project. He concludes with a chapter in which he discusses the "Mittel-Europa" scheme, the "true basis of a permanent Balkan peace", and the disposition of the Turkish territories after the war.

The general attitude of Mr. Woods is that of most persons who know all parts of the Balkan Peninsula equally well, and who therefore see in a well-balanced recognition of the wishes of the people of the different areas the only hope that Southeastern Europe will cease periodically to produce world-crises and wars. Fierce partizans of any one of the peoples concerned cannot but be disappointed at his judicial attitude. Serbian and Greek propagandists in particular, who insist that the basis of settlement should rest largely upon each people's position on the winning or the losing side at the end of the war, cannot agree with his desire to do ethnic and economic justice to the Bulgarians and Albanians. Nevertheless his is that fundamental Anglo-Saxon impartiality, which may at times be disregarded temporarily amid the passions of war and the wrestlings of diplomacy, but which remains the basis of the success of the English-speaking peoples, not only in ideal leadership but also in far-sighted practical statesmanship.

One thread of purpose which runs throughout the book is to demonstrate that by reason of the "Pan-German" policy of keeping trouble

stirred up in the Balkans for the sake of increasing Teutonic power, the hope of future peace demands the defeat of this policy and the erection of a barrier against its resumption. Since his book was written, this question appears to have been settled definitively by the break-up of Austria. A second purpose of Mr. Woods is to show that a type of settlement which would revise the treaty of Bucharest of 1913 in the direction of better conformity with the principle of nationality can alone promise relatively permanent peace in the Balkans. Since unfortunately the peace conference of 1919 has seen fit to revise this treaty somewhat in the other direction, a word as to Mr. Woods's recommendations is in order. He would have had the cession of 1913 in the Dobruja restored by Rumania to Bulgaria, except for Silistria; he would have arranged an impartial ascertainment of the wishes of the people of Macedonia, and a redistribution of that territory according to their wishes; he would not have cut Bulgaria off from the Aegean Sea, but would have widened her outlet to that sea by the inclusion of Kavala; he would have provided protection for the Jews of Salonica; he would have enlarged Albania a little at the south and given it Ipek, Diakova, and Prisrend as necessary market-towns at the north. He would have compensated Rumania and Serbia for unwilling alien elements withdrawn from their rule, by granting to each the addition of its kinsmen in other directions; as for Greece, he saw neither in her equivocal part during the war nor in the actual ethnic situation any justification for a considerable enlargement of her territory.

In regard to Turkey, his convictions are not so clear, except that he would throw open the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations, and shatter the German control of the Bagdad railway.

Wide knowledge has preserved Mr. Woods from incorporating many errors of fact. The King of the Hejaz was not in possession of Medina in July, 1918. The map of the military highways of the Balkan Peninsula needs some revision, now that more is known about the improvement of roads and the building of railroads during the war. The other maps and the illustrations are satisfactory.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

Der Weltkrieg: Vorläufige Orientierung von einem Schweizerischen Standpunkt aus. Von S. ZURLINDEN. Zweiter Band. (Zürich: Orell Füssli. 1918. Pp. xxvi, 725.)

THE scale upon which Herr Zurlinden intends to complete his work on the World War is indicated by the fact that the present volume, the second, ends with the year 1908, the account of the beginning of the conflict being reserved for the fourth volume. The whole history is to be comprised in six volumes, those already published containing more than seven hundred large octavo pages each, with much fine print.

It is obvious that a work of this character, the labor of one man, must

of necessity be of the nature of a compilation. In substance it is a veritable encyclopedia of European history since the Congress of Vienna. When it is finished and provided with a general index, it will be a valuable work of reference, perhaps the most comprehensive single repository covering the period from 1815 to the end of the Great War. Until the general index is furnished, however—for there is none in the separate volumes—it will be a constant exasperation to those who consult these bulky tomes to realize that so many important details are somewhere in these pages and so difficult to locate.

As an encyclopedia, aside from its provoking concealment of really rich contents, this work when completed will be of value in every reference library. New and interesting details gathered from a great variety of sources are here woven together in a consecutive narrative, sometimes overburdened with digressions, but meticulous in the effort to omit nothing which the reader might wish to know on the subject. The notes at the end of the volume present a useful bibliographical annex and indicate wide and careful research in contemporary writings little known to American readers.

The present volume, with the subtitle "The Historical Basis of the World War" (first half) begins with the fall of Napoleon I., the first chapter being "After the Congress of Vienna", followed by "In the Time of the Crimean War", "Bismarck's Wars of Conquest", "Bismarck's Peace", "Triple Alliance and Entente", "The Colonial Era", and "The Eastern Question".

Writing, as he says, from a Swiss point of view, Zurlinden measures every doctrine and every event by the standards of democracy. Bismarck is naturally his *bête noire*, and to him more than to any other he ascribes the perversion of the German mind and responsibility for the German spirit of military aggression. "No one", he affirms, "has so brutally as this man of blood and iron yielded himself to a policy of pure might and force, no one has used it more unscrupulously. . . . The wars of 1864, 1866, and 1870 are Bismarck's personal work."

The writer does not confine himself to assertions. He enters analytically into the causes and procedure of each conflict, and with an unanswerable array of evidence—some of it not to be found in English writings—he traces the hand of Bismarck in preparing the wars which he had planned for the domination of Prussia. So persistent and irresistible was Bismarck's power of will that Kaiser William I. uttered the helpless sigh, "It is difficult to be emperor under such a Chancellor!"

The story of the annexation of the Danish provinces is told with much circumstantiality. "I had all the world against me", declared Bismarck, "the Crown Prince and Crown Princess on account of relationship, the King, I know not for what reason, Austria, the small German States, and England, through jealousy. Even the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein", referring to the German population there, "would not hear of annexation".

New side-lights are thrown on the Hohenzollern candidature for the throne of Spain. Although Bismarck was not the first to suggest it, he gave it his earnest support, and when it was virtually rejected in Prussia secretly promoted it for the purpose of irritating France. At a dinner party given in Berlin on March 15, 1870, by Prince Karl Anton, father of the candidate Prince Leopold, at which King William, the Crown Prince Friedrich and many ministers were present, including Bismarck, Moltke, and Roon, the subject was seriously considered; and all, except the Crown Prince Friedrich, were favorable to the project. The latter expressed a warning that it was a dangerous step to take. Minister Delbrück asked Moltke, "If Napoleon were to take offense, are we prepared?" To which Moltke replied with a confident affirmative. King William concluded that he would neither order nor forbid the acceptance, and the next day Prince Leopold decided that he would not pursue the matter further; but Bismarck, to whom the Prussian minister at Madrid had admitted that the popularity of the candidature in Spain was slight and the election uncertain, nevertheless continued negotiations with the Spanish deputy Salazar. So secret were the communications, that besides the ordinary cipher, Bismarck used a special key, in which King William and Karl Anton figured as "banquiers", the transaction as a "loan", and Leopold as "compagnon de voyage". Moreover the chancellor kept in Spain three special agents, the cool intriguer Theodor von Bernhardt, Lothar Bucher, his "right hand", and a certain Major von Versen, known as the "tolle Versen". As a prelude to the Ems telegram, this is not without interest.

The chapter on "Bismarck's Peace"—for Bismarck was on many occasions a peacemaker—brings out with clearness his conception of war as an instrument of diplomacy. As Prince von Bülow has said: "Bismarck regarded it as his task to prevent the implication of Europe from Moscow to the Pyrenees and from the North Sea to Palermo in a war whose consequences no man could foresee and after the ending of which, as he then expressed it, one might hardly know why he engaged in it. Prince Bismarck", he continues, "regarded the prevention of a coalition-war against us as his greatest service in foreign politics, and to the end of his official life incessantly strove to avoid such a calamity".

One of the purposes of the writer of this history appears to be, to show how, when the imperial power Bismarck created fell into the keeping of less capable guardians, the political conceptions at the base of his system of statecraft inevitably led to the destruction of all his work; for, as he quotes Baumgarten as saying, Bismarck had an infinitely developed feeling for the state, but no feeling for the people. For him the people, society, the mass of mankind, were not really living things.

DAVID JAYNE HILL.

The Grand Fleet, 1914-1916: its Creation, Development and Work.

By Admiral Viscount JELlicoe of Scapa, G.C.B., O.M., G.C.V.O.
(New York: George H. Doran Company. 1919. Pp. xv, 510.
\$6.00.)

To the casual reader, doubtless, the most interesting part of this book is the account of the battle of Jutland, between the British Grand Fleet and the German High Sea Fleet, that took place on May 31, 1916, off the west coast of Denmark.

To the thoughtful man however, to the man solicitous for the future history of his own country, the most interesting part is the part that shows the relative efficiencies of the two contending navies, the causes which produced them, and the lessons for the future which they bear. The fact was generally known that the British navy was greater in the number of its vessels and its men; but which was the more efficient navy was a thing unknown. We knew that the British navy surpassed in quantity, but did not know which navy surpassed in quality.

By the battle of Jutland the German fleet was driven off the sea, and compelled to seek the safety of its bases behind the fortress of Heligoland and the mine fields of the German coast.

But the important question still remains, which fleet was the better in quality; which fleet had been the better prepared to fulfill the duty to discharge which the nation had maintained it; which navy had shown the greater amount of strategic wisdom in the preparation of its personnel and material for the day of battle?

This is the paramount question which this book answers, and which it answers in unmistakable language, though not in direct terms. Its importance rests on the fact that, no matter how much money any nation may spend on its navy, no matter how many ships and men it may maintain, no matter what the cost of those ships and men, the nation is vitally interested in securing the system by which the greatest possible fighting value shall be attained. For the fighting value which a fleet finally shows in battle is merely a demonstration of the excellence of its design and preparation; its actual performance in battle is merely the result of the training of its personnel and the quality of its material.

Of the two factors, personnel and material, it need hardly be pointed out that the personnel (including the planners, the ordnance officers, the constructors, engineers, etc.) is immeasurably the more important; one reason being that the personnel designs, constructs, and operates the material. For this reason, the possession of the best material proves the existence of the best personnel.

In the case of the British and the German navies, the question as to which had been the better designed and prepared, and was therefore the more efficient, has a peculiar interest from the fact that the two navies had been conducted under two clearly different systems; the German having been designed and prepared under the general staff system, which

had made the German army the most efficient in the world; while the British had been designed and prepared under the admiralty board system, under which it had been conducted (with suitable changes from time to time) for several centuries. It is to be noted here that some of the changes in the admiralty system had been toward a general staff, and had been brought about by reason of the obvious success of the Germans with their system. The main difference between the systems lay in the fact that the German embodied a separate planning division under the direct control of the chief of staff, who had no administrative duties, and whose sole task was to plan on a large scale, leaving to other parts of the organization the task of carrying out these plans. The analogy may be pointed out between so conducting a navy and say, producing a book—the author supplying the plan, and the publishers printing the book. In the British admiralty, the duties of the first sea lord were partly in administration and partly in planning; in the German navy, the duties of the chief of staff were merely to plan. Which was the better system?

Jellicoe's book does not state that the German was the better, but it does state that the German material was the better; and it does state that he himself made a radical and sweeping change in the administration of the British Grand Fleet, *after* war had been declared and *after* he had assumed command!

Having been brought up for half a century to regard the British navy as the highest development of organized human power since the days of Rome (with the possible exception of the German army), I have to admit a feeling of astonishment on reading on page 41 of Jellicoe's book that, on taking command, he doubled his staff; that he found it necessary to take such a momentous step at that late day. What becomes of all our ideals of preparedness, when we find that that state of affairs existed in the British navy?

In leading up to his account of the battle of Jutland, Admiral Jellicoe analyzes and describes very clearly the differences in "armament, protection and displacement" of the battleships and battle-cruisers of the two navies, and shows that the German vessels were distinctly superior in both weight and quality of side armor and deck armor, as well as in submerged torpedo tubes; and that the British were superior in heavy turret guns, while the Germans carried heavier guns in the secondary battery; that the German boilers were more economical for their weight; that the German shells were fitted with "a delay-action fuse which, combined with a highly efficient armour-piercing projectile, ensured the burst of shell taking place *inside* the armour of British ships instead of *outside*, or whilst passing through the armour, which was the case with British shells of that date fired against the thick German armour".

He also shows that the German ships were more skillfully constructed to resist torpedo hits, and that "the result was that, although it is known that many German capital ships were mined and torpedoed during the

war, including several at the Jutland battle, the Germans have not so far admitted that any were sunk, except the pre-dreadnought battleship *Pommern*, and the battle cruiser *Lutzow*". . . while, "on the other hand, British capital ships, mined or torpedoed, rarely survived". He also states that the Germans had expended more on gunnery and torpedo practices; "that German submarines possessed a radius of action and sea-keeping qualities considerably greater than those of our submarines"; that "the Germans possessed an excellent practice ground in Kiel Bay, with every appliance for carrying out gunnery exercises". . . and that "We were not in so fortunate a position. There had been no recent opportunity for carrying out gunnery and torpedo exercises and practices"; and he indicates a number of reasons for suspecting not only that the skill of the Germans at gunnery and torpedo practices was greater than that of the British, but that the torpedoes themselves were better. He also shows that the optical devices of the Germans for finding the range, etc., were more scientific and practical. In speaking of the night action, one sentence reads,

The use of star shell, at that time unfamiliar to us, was of the greatest use to them in locating our destroyers without revealing their own positions; and, secondly, their searchlights were not only more powerful (much more so than ours), but their method of controlling them and bringing guns and searchlights rapidly on to any vessel sighted was excellent. It also appeared that some system of director-firing was fitted to the guns of their secondary armament.

A brief review like this is inadequate to the task of giving more than the gist of Jellicoe's book. To me the gist is the proof that, despite the fact that the battle of Jutland was a victory for the British, the German navy was the better, and was vanquished merely because it was the smaller.

A fact like this, super-important as it is to us, is super-important only in so far as it may lead us to see the reason why Germany secured a better navy than Great Britain. The reason, of course, is that Germany followed the better system (the general staff system) whereby the planning for the whole conduct of the navy was in the hands—and brains—of experts specially trained for the task.

Great Britain has now virtually adopted this system.

BRADLEY A. FISKE.

Der Weltkrieg in seiner Einwirkung auf das Deutsche Volk. Herausgegeben von MAX SCHWARTE. (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1918. Pp. viii, 513.)

THE spirit of the work is that of March, 1918, when Germany still appeared "militarily in an unconquerable position on land and sea" (p. 98). The editor and his twenty-five collaborators include corps and divisional commanders, vice-admirals, professors, *Oberbürgermeister*, *Re-*

gierungsräte, and *Landräte*, all of them *Kaisertreue* of Conservative or National Liberal faith. The military and political chapters bear the names of men like Freytag-Loringhoven, Schiemann, and Blankenburg, to whom August 1, 1914, is a "landmark of stupendous grandeur" in the rise of the German people; and even the article on the "army of workers at home" is not from the pen of a Socialist, but from that of the Christian Socialist Johann Giesberts. Nevertheless, there are apparent here and there much war-weariness and premonitions of political disaster when peace shall bring the soldiers home, while not a few passages sound like whistling for courage.

The work opens with an interesting discussion by the Heidelberg theologian Ernst Troeltsch of the character of the war, which he develops out of a "European family struggle", resulting from the new arrangement of 1860-1870, into a world-conflict, whose "planetary character" he ascribes to the nationalization of economic forces (*Durchstaatlichung der Wirtschaft*) which has grown out of national customs policies and the intense rivalry for the remaining sources of raw materials. Following a series of articles reviewing the military lessons derived from trench warfare and the use of high-power artillery and from the mobilization of man-power at home, a third section traces the political effects of the struggle in an advance toward liberalism in parliamentary life and in the reshaping of international relations. A fourth series of papers then outlines the war-time organization of agriculture, manufacturing, trade, and finance, with a résumé of the various devices to evade the blockade in the struggle to replace the twenty-five per cent. of food-stuffs, which was Germany's pre-war importation, and the fight of the scientists for raw materials through the extraction of nitrogen from the air, the substitution of nettles for cotton, of the various products of the marsh "cat-tail" (typha) for jute, of iron and zinc for copper, and half a hundred other substitutes and replacements. Other chapters picture in sombre colors the moral and physical hardships of women and their mass invasion of industry, and still others describe, quite superficially, the influence of the war on public health, on legal administration, religion, art, and letters.

In the nature of things, the work offers little that is new in detail, but much that is enlightening in the point of view. Such, for instance, is Blankenburg's account of the struggle of old liberalism, in the Reichstag and without, against the forces which were undermining the monarchy. Schiemann's well-supported inference that in May and June, 1915, Sweden was close to joining the Central Powers (p. 143) is of interest, as is his brutal rejection of Bethmann-Hollweg's "confession of sin" with regard to Belgium. The value of the book lies in the collective impression it makes and the composite picture it offers of Germany on the eve of the last great offensive. In 500 pages, now superficially, now with painstaking care, here with rhetorical pathos and there in the hard accents of the economist and statistician, there unfold before

us all of the material and moral forces of a nation at bay and of a political system on trial for its life—the technical accomplishment of the soldier, the hasty exploitation of limited raw materials by the chemist and the physicist, the drab misery of the working classes, the patient, unrewarded labor of women. The resultant impression is that of intense popular energy, still concentrated and co-ordinated under the old leadership.

ROBERT H. FIFE, jr.

German Social Democracy during the War. By EDWYN BEVAN.
(New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1919. Pp. x, 280.
\$2.50.)

MR. BEVAN, writing in the spring of 1918, had access, as an Englishman, to files of German newspapers and to many significant Socialist pamphlets which at that time were denied to most American scholars by the British military censors. Consequently he was enabled to do what could not be done on this side of the water—to prepare from primary sources a history of German Social Democracy during the war. This he has done thoroughly, dispassionately, and interestingly, from the August days of 1914 to the dismissal of Michaelis in October, 1917.

The story is not surprising to anyone familiar with the general tendencies of the Social Democratic party in Germany on the eve of the Great War, or with the various schools of thought among its leading members. The German Socialists had fully prepared themselves to be duped by the Kaiser's government, and when the Great War actually broke they succumbed easily and at first unanimously. Germany must protect herself, they said, against the oncoming savage Russians; and in ignorance of the true situation in Belgium they rallied to the banners of the Hohenzollerns, the Junkers, and the bourgeoisie, proclaimed that Germany was fighting a war of pure self-defense such as was sanctioned by Socialist principles, and on August 4, 1914, voted as a unit the first war-credits demanded by Bethmann-Hollweg. Subsequently they were disillusioned, but the process was slow and halting. It took time for members to convince themselves, by a study of the diplomatic correspondence and the crafty conduct of the government, that Germany and Austria were the aggressors; it required real courage, moreover, to act upon such a conviction in the midst of the war-psychology of the whole German people and in the face of the traditional solidarity and discipline of their own party. With the exception of Liebknecht, who voted against the second war-credits in December, 1914, and Rühle, who joined Liebknecht in March, 1915, the Reichstag dissenters long confined their opposition to the party caucus; on the floor of the Reichstag they either voted with the majority or absented themselves when votes were taken. It was not until December, 1915, that other votes were actually cast against war-credits, and not until March, 1916, that Haase read a "minority

declaration" in the Reichstag. Thenceforth a split was fully evident, although the independent Social Democratic party was not formally launched until April, 1917. In the main, the new party—the Minority—was more Marxian than Lassalleian or Revisionist: it embraced such "revolutionary" Socialists as Haase, Kautsky, Mehring, and Ledebour, although Eduard Bernstein, the apostle of revisionism, adhered to it, perhaps because of his lifelong admiration for England.

The Majority of German Social Democrats, as everyone knows, stuck to their pro-war policy to the end. Nationalists like David, Heine, Noske, and Kolb, imperialists like Cunow and Quessel, trade-union leaders like Legien and Bauer, stalwarts like Ebert, Scheidemann, and Richard Fischer, all became imbued with the patriotic spirit. In the supreme crisis of war they catered to popular emotions. They were followers of the government rather than leaders of a revolution. The Majority Socialists throughout the war were in a painful and difficult position, for they had, as it were, to carry on war simultaneously on three fronts. They had to attack the government as undemocratic in constitution, so far as their object was to procure internal reform, and as ambiguous on the question of peace, so far as they were anxious to bring about a peace on the definite basis of the *status quo*; at the same time they had to defend the government against foreigners, and also against the Minority at home. Against foreigners they had to argue that the German government, in appearance reactionary, was really just as democratic as the British, French, and American governments—or even much more democratic—and had done everything it could do to prove its genuine readiness for peace. Against the Minority, also, they had to insist upon the government's will for peace, in order to show that it was right for Socialists to support it in carrying on a defensive war; but in the matter of democratic reforms they spoke to the Minority as being with them equally determined to secure needed constitutional changes.

At the time when Mr. Bevan wrote, events seemed to indicate that the Minority Socialists were growing rapidly at the expense of the Majority. Figures were presented, in fact, at the congress of the old party at Würzburg in October, 1917, indicating that the number of subscribers to the party press had decreased since March, 1914, by one-half, and that the enrolled members had declined in number from one million to 243,000. If Mr. Bevan brings out a second volume, tracing the history of German Socialism from October, 1917, to the present, he will then have the opportunity to show how the treaty of Brest-Litovsk aided the Majority; how the alliance between the Independents and the Liebknecht extremists, or Spartacans, injured the Minority; and how the Majority, thoroughly nationalized and used to co-operation with bourgeois parties, was able to effect the revolution of November, 1918, with a minimum of violence, and to join with Centrists and Radicals in fashioning a republican constitution and creating the present government of Germany. It is greatly to be hoped that Mr. Bevan will conclude this study, for if it

should be one-half as informing and suggestive as the volume already before us, it would speedily take its place as a valuable supplement to an authoritative and really distinguished history of German Social Democracy in the Great War.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

La Révolution Russe. Par CLAUDE ANET. In four volumes. (Paris: Payot et Cie. 1918-1919. Pp. 286; 280; 243; 280. 4.50 fr. each.)

IN these four volumes the author, correspondent of the *Petit Parisien*, describes and comments on the actors and acts of the revolutionary drama as he saw it played from March, 1917, to June, 1918, the time when he left Russia. He is well fitted for the rôle of critic because of his long residence in the land of the tsars, his acquaintance with the leading men of the country, his familiarity with the Russian people and character, his understanding of socialism, his wide experience as a journalist, and his ability to judge men. Realizing the importance of the revolution he watched it carefully, gathered its documents, made notes on the conversations held with diplomats, generals, soldiers, and common people. The information thus gathered is put into good literary form and gives both the facts and the atmosphere of the revolution.

Mr. Anet does not belong to that group of men who went to Petrograd with their minds pretty well made up as to what they would see there. He was at the capital when the old régime was overthrown and, being a well-trained newspaper man, followed and recorded every move without allowing his prejudices to get the best of him. "Je regarde et j'enregistre." If he is not neutral (he is too much of a French patriot to be that), neither is he blinded by passion. He does not love the Russian Socialist, least of all the Bolsheviki, but he paints their virtues in the same strong colors as he does their vices. He has some excellent character-sketches of these men—Kerenski, Lenin, and particularly Trotski, whom he regards very highly as an organizer and as a man of action. The honors which were showered on Kerenski as well as the plaudits of the crowds filled that leader with conceit and confidence in his ability to accomplish everything by speeches. He was afraid of responsibility and acted only when a crisis forced him to do so, and then it was too late. Not so the Bolsheviki. They assumed responsibilities gladly; they knew what they wanted and how to get it. "Regardons les maximalistes. Ils ont des qualités. Ils agissent, prennent leurs responsabilités, ordonnent et savent se faire obéir." Lenin is a fanatic, a man of one idea; but "Trotski est plus souple, plus ondoyant, d'une culture plus large mais d'une orthodoxie moins sûre. On peut concevoir Trotski au service d'une autre cause. Lenine fait corps avec le socialisme intégrale." Lenin and Trotski are the two great men that the revolution has produced. Alongside of Trotski, Kerenski is "une femmelette

bavarde et hystérique qui ne sait que sauter à la corde . . . et prononcer des paroles sonores, vide de sens et jamais suivies d'actes". The way in which Trotsky pulled off the *coup d'état* of November 7 fills the author with admiration. "Pas un accroc, pas une bavure, le gouvernement est renversé sans avoir eu le temps de faire 'Ouf'." Trotsky is not a dreamer; "il voit clair, il ne se trompe pas . . . il n'y a rien de vague et de rêveur dans son regard".

Considerable space is devoted to the relations of the Soviet government with the Allies and their representatives. As to the part played by the United States during these trying times, Mr. Anet has this to say: "Quand l'ambassadeur [of the United States] disait blanc, l'attaché militaire disait noir, et un extraordinaire colonel Robbins, chef de la Croix Rouge, personne quasi-officiel, disait rouge, rouge sang."

Scattered here and there through the volumes are chapters dealing with the economic and social life during the revolution, with the suffering of the people as a whole, and with the humiliation of the army officers and the bourgeoisie as a class. "Il ne faut pas juger la Révolution russe sur ce qu'elle dit. Il faut voir ce qu'elle a fait. Il y a un abîme entre les mots et les actes." At times, especially in the last volume, the least satisfactory of the four, the author becomes somewhat ironic and expresses opinions about the Russians that one is loth to accept. But whether one agrees with his opinions or not, they are always intelligent. Taking it as a whole Anet's *Russian Revolution* is the best book on the subject that has come into the hands of the reviewer. It is the book for the historian.

F. A. GOLDER.

Ambassador Morgenthau's Story. By HENRY MORGENTHAU, formerly American Ambassador to Turkey. (Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1919. Pp. xv, 407. \$2.)

MR. MORGENTHAU has written one of the outstanding books of the four years of the Great War. Placed in a position where under the rules of diplomatic confidence he learned the thoughts and plans of the rulers of Turkey and to some extent, through his fellow ambassadors, of the leaders of the great European nations, he found his lips unsealed by the progress of events while his recollections, supported by careful notes, were still freshly in mind. Nine-tenths of his book is first-hand material, well selected and admirably stated. The pen-portraits of Enver, Talaat, and Wangenheim are masterpieces of vivid expression, as on a smaller scale are those of Bedri, Jemal, Pallavicini, Kühlmann, and others. The main lines of Turkish and German policy during the first year and a half of the war are set forth with great clearness and evidenced by indisputable facts. Especially noteworthy are the episodes of the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, the naval attack on the Dardanelles, and the deportation and massacre of the Armenians. Making all due allowance for the collaboration of Mr. Burton J. Hendrick and others, Mr. Morgenthau re-

veals himself as a biographical and historical observer and narrator of a very high order. He furthermore contributes a number of large generalizations which will probably stand the test of time in the history of the Near East: as that Turkey was fundamentally brought into the Great War on the German side through fear of Russia, English support having disappeared after the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907; that the *Goeben* and *Breslau*, by the part they played in the final Turkish decision, probably exercised more influence than any other two ships in history; that the Turks, after the repulse of the Allies at the Dardanelles in March, 1915, were for the first time in generations able to act freely, and so to attempt the destruction of their Armenian subjects; that Bulgaria might until September, 1915, have been brought into the war on the Allied side, had her "unredeemed" territory in Macedonia been secured for her; that the closing of the Dardanelles and the keeping of them closed, by German intrigue, Turkish resistance, Allied hesitancy, and the overrunning of Serbia, led to the collapse of Russia, the prolongation of the war, and the ultimate participation of the United States.

Mr. Morgenthau is not always as happy in narrating past events as in describing what he himself saw. The account given of the early Ottoman history (pp. 276-281) contains some statements which can be characterized only as fantastic: such as that the Turk of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries swept as a "wild horde . . . from the plains of Central Asia and, like a whirlwind, overwhelmed the nations of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor; it conquered Egypt, Arabia", etc.; that "these old Turks . . . had no alphabet and no art of writing; no books, no poets, no art, and no architecture"; that they reduced Mesopotamia to a desert "in a few years"; and that Turkey never was "an independent sovereignty" (p. 112).

Mr. Morgenthau also leans toward the common error of overemphasizing the importance of the field which he himself knows, as when he calls Turkey "the foundation of the Kaiser's whole political and military structure" (p. 1, English edition). Nor is it credible that Austrian and German statesmen could have expected in 1912 that Turkey would annihilate the forces of Serbia and destroy her as a nation.

But errors are remarkably few, while positive contributions of great value are many; especially valuable is the light obtained through the confidences of Wangenheim upon the German ideas on the terms of peace at different junctures (pp. 92, 175 ff., 389); the many observations on the Dardanelles campaign; and the detailed story of the Armenian deportation and massacres, with the attitude toward these of the Turkish and German statesmen in Constantinople.

The illustrations are numerous and well selected. The specially prepared maps are helpful; that on page 270, however, does not show correctly the territory ceded by Turkey to Bulgaria in 1915, since it omits the strips on the left bank of the Maritza.

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

Reconstruction and National Life. By CECIL FAIRFIELD LAVELL, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Grinnell College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1919. Pp. xi, 193. \$1.60.)

THE title of this book creates a misconception as to its contents. The author refers not to American national life, as one naturally assumes, but to the national life of France, Germany, Russia, and Great Britain.

His concern is with the phase of reconstruction which is to follow the making of the treaties, the delimitation of boundaries, and the inauguration of the League of Nations. "The more subtle and far-reaching phase of reconstruction", he says, "is that implied in self-determination, the problem imposed on each people of facing its own issues, reconsidering its own aims and lines of advance." The foundation for this reconstruction he seeks in the history of the four nations considered, especially their history during the nineteenth century. Where others have been searching for "the roots of the war" Mr. Lavell now searches for the roots of peace.

Taking four great historical phenomena, nationality, European expansion, democracy, and the industrial revolution, as ideas controlling the grouping of facts, he inquires into the tendencies which the French Revolution set in motion in France, discovers that German national life has two springs, the older idealistic and in essence non-Prussian, the newer Prussian and materialistic. In Russian history he finds the people usually under the control of forces too great for them, before which "they drift to storm or safety, to tragedy or happiness, with little will of their own". The British Empire, a creation mainly of the last 150 years, in the author's view reveals Britain's fundamental loyalty to the idea of freedom.

The book is an excursion in the domain of culture-history and has both the merits and the defects of its qualities. It is well written; its generalized statements imply a firm grasp on the homelier facts of European history; the author's conclusions usually give the impression of being authenticated by much preliminary research. Yet, on the other hand, the reader is apt to lay the volume down, after reading it, with a baffling sense of having been delighted and edified without being set forward perceptibly on his journey of inquiry. It is indeed comforting to be told by a careful student of her history that the Germany of the future is no more apt to resemble the "Germany of Bismarck than the Germany of Goethe" (p. 59), and we may be quite ready to accept the view that much of the old idealism persists and may perhaps now regain currency. But our hope of such a revival of the spiritual in German life would be strengthened more by specific evidences of its perdurance as a militant albeit unsuccessful force in German politics in recent times than by references to Germany's pre-eminent achievements before 1850 in "the fields of philosophy, literature, music, philology, history". This does not answer one's natural inquiry: Is the democracy likely to

control the life of Germany; how far does this democracy represent the older idealisms; what new and hopeful ideas are apt to play through the organs of social control? A similar want of compulsiveness affects the author's treatment of France, Russia, and Great Britain.

As books, by historians, on present-day problems go, this is an admirable little volume. The above criticism is suggested partly by way of raising the question whether a historian of to-day, when dealing with a contemporary problem, may not properly be as bold as Thucydides was in his day and make his study frankly an essay in contemporaneous history.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

- The Norsemen's Route from Greenland to Wineland.* By H. P. STEENSBY, Ph.D., Professor of Geography at the University of Copenhagen. (Copenhagen: Henrik Koppel. 1918. Pp. 109.)
- The Norse Discovery of America.* By ANDREW FOSSUM, Ph.D. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House. 1918. Pp. 160.)

HITHERTO we have been accustomed to hear from those who have tried to solve the Wineland problem that this enigmatic land was to be sought somewhere on the Atlantic seaboard. It is therefore somewhat surprising to see two authors come forth in the same year maintaining that it was located, not on the coast, but on the St. Lawrence River. To this conclusion they have come independently of one another and in different ways.

Professor Steensby's treatise appeared first in the publications of the commission for the geographical and geological survey of Greenland (*Meddelelser om Grønland*, LVI.), and was afterwards issued separately. The author accepts Gustav Storm's opinion as to the two principal sources, thus practically discarding the *Grœnlendinga þáttur* and depending upon the *Eiríks Saga Rauða* whose description of the directions and localities he considers on the whole reliable and sufficiently clear. He is confident that the problem can be solved and the location of Wineland determined by relying upon common geographical observations. He agrees with earlier writers that Helluland and Markland are to be found in Labrador and adjacent regions; but he says that it must be borne in mind that the Norsemen sailed along the coast whenever that was possible. Thus they followed the eastern coast of Labrador to the Strait of Belle Isle, and then turned west along the southern coast of Labrador into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and there he locates Markland between the strait and Cape Whittle. The low, sandy shore west of this cape, he thinks, fits very well the description of Wonderstrands in the saga. Keelness he has, however, some difficulty in locating, but is inclined to identify it with Pointe aux Vaches just east of the mouth of Saguenay River. There, according to the saga, the coast became indented with fjords, and

the author believes that this refers to the Saguenay and St. Lawrence rivers both of which the Norsemen had taken to be fjords, and the latter, in his opinion, they called *Straumfjord*, while Hare Island presumably is identical with *Straumey* where *Karlsefni* spent two winters. *Wineland* would then lie further up the river, and at *Montmagny* the author finds, according to maps, a place which exactly corresponds to the description of *Hóp*, where the second winter was passed. But it causes him some difficulty to make other incidents of the saga fit into this scheme, especially the voyage of *Thórhall* Huntsman and *Karlsefni*'s trip in search of him. In order to explain them he tries to show that the explorers, believing that they were in a fjord, extended the name of *Wonderstrands* to the right bank of the river, and he also suggests some emendations in the text. Like other writers the author, who by the way has written a treatise on the origin of the Eskimo culture, takes it for certain that the Norsemen were unable to distinguish between Indians and Eskimos, comprising both under the name of *Skraelings*.

Professor Steensby apparently can not read Icelandic, and has therefore depended upon the Danish translation of the saga which accompanied the edition of 1838. This is inexcusable, as he could have secured both Danish and English translations based upon Storm's critical edition of 1891 and Reeves's facsimile edition of 1890 respectively. There are two recensions of the Eric's saga, one in *Hauk's Book* which the edition of 1838 followed, and the other in a later vellum. Although going back to the same original they do not agree in all details. Professor Steensby has relied upon the former without paying due regard to the latter, which in places is fuller and often probably more correct. According to it *Markland* and *Wonderstrands* were separated by water. It also says that the explorers lived during the winter in *Straumfjord*, that is, on the mainland. *Hauk's Book* omits this passage, but a careful reading of its text will reveal that it implies their living on the mainland, not on the island. That *Hóp* was situated only some seventy miles away from *Straumey* and lying in *Straumfjord* is entirely incompatible with the saga, which plainly tells us that they left and returned to *Straumfjord*. Besides, it is highly improbable that the Norsemen should have remained the greater part of a year at *Montmagny* without discovering that they were on a river. They needed only to go a few miles further up, beyond *Isle d'Orléans*, to ascertain the true character of the water. It is not likely that they would have neglected this. Nor does the distance between Hare Island and *Montmagny* make possible the climatic difference of *Straumfjord* and *Hóp*, even if we allow for some exaggerations as to that in the saga. Furthermore this location of *Wineland* would dispose of *Leif Ericson* as the first discoverer of it. His was not a voyage of exploration. He came accidentally upon it on his way from Norway to Greenland. That he should have sailed far into the estuary of the St. Lawrence is out of the question. Yet the author believes that

the route to Wineland was well known. Here again he is in conflict with the saga, which tells of a disagreement between Karlsefni and Thórhall Huntsman concerning the route to be followed; and that incident is authenticated by the stanzas ascribed to the latter, which doubtless are genuine. Professor Steensby's theory is altogether too much at variance with the saga, and hence his book brings us no nearer to a solution of the problem.

Dr. Fossum professes to accept without reserve the account of these voyages to be found in the sources, placing faith in the accuracy of the *páttir* as well as the saga, although he appears to give a preference to the former. He asserts that the texts have not been studied with sufficient care, and he indicates that he is the only one who has done this, and proposes to correct the generally accepted notions regarding the Old Norse conception of geography. He thinks that Storm was never quite at home in this question or did not know the application of a scientific method; and he talks of "the imaginary geography in the manner of Storm, Björnbo and Nansen". The chapter on the northern geography displays, however, the author's superficial knowledge of the subject and his incapacity for critical handling of the sources. He seems to think that everything turns on the question whether or not the Norsemen knew Baffin Land. He does not hesitate to tell us that they had already discovered it at the time of the Wineland voyages, and offhand he identifies old Icelandic geographical names with Baffin Land without giving any plausible reasons for his contentions. Needless to say, he neither corrects anything nor adds anything to a better understanding of the subject. He assumes that there were two Winelands, one on the right bank of the St. Lawrence river between 46° and 47° N., to which Leif, Thorvald, and Freydis went according to the *páttir*, this being the genuine Wineland, while the other to which Karlsefni repaired according to the saga, was on the southeastern coast of Newfoundland. Such a distinction between the Wineland of the *páttir* and that of the saga is absolutely unwarranted and untenable. It is not entirely new, since W. Hovgaard put it forth in his book, but it is due to a misconception of the tradition and the sources. Dr. Fossum thinks, however, that he has found the right explanation. The *páttir*, in his opinion, contains the tradition as preserved in the family of Eric the Red, giving a truthful account of their exploits, while the saga gives the version of Karlsefni, his followers and descendants. Dr. Fossum maintains that there was a strife between these two factions which ultimately developed into a question of national pride between the Greenlanders and the Icelanders. It does not seem to disturb the author that he cannot give a shred of evidence for the existence of this quarrel, nor that his branding of Karlsefni as an impostor is contrary to the *páttir* as well as to all other sources. The book makes hard reading. It is full of repetitions and unproved assumptions, and the Icelandic quotations are very faulty. Throughout the author has confused Snorri Thorbrandsson with Snorri Thorgrims-

son, the renowned chieftain of Helgafell—a bad blunder for a writer who pretends to have studied the sources with care. Most of the illustrations are from photographs taken on the Brown-Harvard expedition to Nachvak in 1900.

HALLDÓR HERMANNSSON.

The Red Man's Continent: a Chronicle of Aboriginal America. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON. [Chronicles of America series, vol. I.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1919. Pp. xii, 183.)

VOLUME I. of the *Chronicles*, somewhat tardy in appearance, serves to introduce the reader to the physical features of the New World, especially of North America. The bearing of geographic conditions upon all forms of life is emphasized, and this thesis merges into a concise account of early Indian culture. The whole well-told story bridges the way handily to the white man's America unfolded in the succeeding volumes.

The first chapter, *Approaches to America*, deals with the problem of man's first habitat, and the coming to the western hemisphere of Indian, European, and negro. The next three chapters cover physiographic features, soil, temperature, rain-fall, and vegetation. In this section of the book the author, primarily a geographer, has an easy mastery of his subject, and a corresponding advantage over many students of early America. The final chapter, *the Red Man in America*, is derived largely, as the author states in a foot-note, from articles on Indian life in the *Handbook of American Indians* edited by Mr. Hodge.

In every chapter, however, the author contributes generously of his favorite thesis on the relation of geographic features, especially climate, to the evolution of society. Indeed, for such a brief treatise, he seems over-generous in such contributions. He constantly overworks his material in order to generalize, to show connection, to establish hypotheses, especially as to the influence of climate on civilization. His constant use of space to apply, explain, and defend that hypothesis reaches its climax in the concluding summary (pp. 167-172). Here quite half the space is used to explain, defensively, how the ancient Aztecs and Mayas happened to develop such a high type of civilization in what is now such a bad climate.

There are, moreover, notable discrepancies in the author's estimates of the effect of climate upon human progress: *e. g.*, "For this reason it is not improbable that long sojourns at way stations on the cold, Alaskan route from central Asia may have weeded out certain types of minds. Perhaps that is why the Indian, though brave, stoical, and hardy, does not possess the alert, nervous temperament which leads to invention and progress" (pp. 20-21). Yet in a later chapter the author devotes a full page to emphasizing the ingenuity of the Eskimo. And finally, "In view of these clever inventions it seems safe to say that the Eskimo has

remained a nomadic savage not because he lacks inventive skill but partly because the climate deadens his energies and still more because it forbids him to practise agriculture" (p. 126). The net conclusion of the two statements seems to be as follows: Indians in general are stupid and un-inventive because they sojourned for a time in the arctic regions; but those who remained there permanently are especially clever at invention.

The climate-energy hypothesis so much emphasized in Mr. Huntington's former books and articles is stated here and restated throughout the book, but it is everywhere diluted by other hypotheses: respecting pulsations of climate (pp. 123-124, 168-171, *et passim*), respecting heavily matted grass as an obstacle to the progress of agriculture (pp. 151-152, 165-166), respecting lack of tools and horses (pp. 124, 151-152, 168), respecting lack of rain (pp. 141-142, 148-149), respecting lack of proper plants (p. 140), respecting food and transport (pp. 127-128, 134-135, 153-154). All of these considerations are legitimate, indeed absolutely essential. But when they are all added up, and then subtracted from the climate-energy hypothesis, how much of the latter is left? It simply goes the way of all other short-cut hypotheses for explaining civilization. Yet even this insistent climatic dogma may bring a freshness to the general reader, and leave the critical historian provoked to thought.

There are good maps, beautiful illustrations, a very brief bibliography, and a fairly adequate index.

The Spanish Conquerors: a Chronicle of the Dawn of Empire Overseas. By IRVING BERDINE RICHMAN. [Chronicles of America series, vol. II.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1918. Pp. xi, 238.)

Elizabethan Sea-Dogs: a Chronicle of Drake and his Companions. By WILLIAM WOOD. [*Id.*, vol. III.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. xi, 252.)

Crusaders of New France: a Chronicle of the Fleur-de-Lis in the Wilderness. By WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO. [*Id.*, vol. IV.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. xii, 237.)

Pioneers of the Old South: a Chronicle of English Colonial Beginnings. By MARY JOHNSTON. [*Id.*, vol. V.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. x, 246.)

The Fathers of New England: a Chronicle of the Puritan Commonwealths. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS. [*Id.*, vol. VI.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. x, 210.)

Dutch and English on the Hudson: a Chronicle of Colonial New York. By MAUD WILDER GOODWIN. [*Id.*, vol. VII.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. x, 243.)

The Quaker Colonies: a Chronicle of the Proprietors of the Delaware. By SYDNEY G. FISHER. [*Id.*, vol. VIII.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 244.)

Colonial Folkways: a Chronicle of American Life in the Reign of the Georges. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS. [*Id.*, vol. IX.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. x, 255.)

The Conquest of New France: a Chronicle of the Colonial Wars. By GEORGE M. WRONG. [*Id.*, vol. X.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. x, 246.)

THESE volumes constitute the colonial section of a publication intended "to present the entire history of our country in the living form of a series of short narratives; each having a unity of its own but all articulated and so related that the reader will not only be entertained by the story in each volume but will also be given a real vision of the development of this country from the beginning to the present". A special effort has been made to reach "those of our citizens who are not in the habit of reading history". Unfortunately the cost of the present edition is such as to limit seriously the number of possible purchasers. In the externals of book-making the series makes a pleasing impression. The books are good to look at, comfortable to handle, and easy to read. The illustrations are generally well chosen and well executed. Portraits preponderate, except in the volume on *Colonial Folkways* which has admirably selected illustrations of architecture, household furnishings, and costume. Only three of the nine volumes reproduce contemporary maps; but the maps drawn by Mr. Joerg especially for this series are excellent. Places mentioned in the text are easily found on the maps which are kept clear by omitting unessential names.

The traditional sensibility of the general reader is spared by the almost complete absence of foot-notes. His possible interest in more extended reading is, however, anticipated in the brief bibliographical chapter attached to each volume. One does not expect in such a series many references to material in foreign languages. Somewhat noticeable, however, is the small number of Spanish titles in Richman's *Spanish Conquerors* and of French in Wrong's *Conquest of New France*; Munro's *Crusaders of New France* does list some of the more important French authorities. "Sources" are by no means excluded, not even some rather formidable material. Some of the bibliographical sections, notably those by Andrews, are at once scholarly and practical; others are not so well considered. The only sources listed for the southern colonies after 1624 are Hening's *Statutes*, the *Maryland Archives*, and the *North Carolina Colonial Records*, though the field is rich in contemporary material more likely to appeal to the ordinary reader.

On the more important question, how far editor and authors have succeeded in combining sound historical presentation with "human interest", it is not easy to generalize; but on the whole, the result has

been sufficiently good to make the enterprise distinctly worth while. Wood's volume on the *Elizabethan Sea-dogs* has something of the breeziness and rough vigor of his subject. Richman and Wrong, dealing with subjects which lend themselves readily to dramatic treatment, have made good use of their opportunities. The volumes by Munro and Andrews combine thorough scholarship with a skill in presentation which will perhaps conceal from the average reader the solid research which lies behind some of these chapters.

Space is not available for more than a rapid survey of the individual volumes. Richman's *Spanish Conquerors* seems in the main a sound, well-written summary of our present knowledge; the treatment of controversial topics is generally fair-minded and sensible. The book keeps pretty closely to the field indicated by its title; it is a story of adventure, not a study of Latin-American communities and their relations with the outside world. Yet one feels the need of such a study to counteract the school-book notion of the Spaniard as the villain of the play. Readers of Wood's *Fight for Canada* are prepared for a spirited narrative, in which the student, as well as the general reader, will find some fresh material to interest him on Elizabethan sea-life, shipbuilding, and the organization of maritime enterprises. The treatment of Drake and his contemporaries is frankly sympathetic; the story of England's clash with Spain for trade and empire in the West could of course be told from another angle and with a different distribution of light and shadow. Chapters on the passing of Raleigh and Drake bring the volume to a close in dramatic fashion. From Spanish and English adventurers, the story turns to the beginnings of New France. In Munro's volume, adventure still plays a large part, but the author is fortunately able to give about half his space to a series of excellent chapters on various aspects of French-Canadian society, the church, the seigneurs, the *coureurs-de-bois*, agriculture, and home life. The American reader of these hundred-odd pages will probably get from them a clearer picture of French-Canadian civilization than he can find anywhere else within the same limits of space. Some of the author's earlier generalizations are debatable, as when he attributes French failure in American colonization primarily to lack of leadership in "her kings and ministers" (p. 6). Taking the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries together, was there any such superiority in the colonial statesmanship of English kings and ministers as to account for the different fortunes of the two colonizing powers?

After these "background" volumes, we have, in the traditional order, narratives of the three sectional groups among the "Old Thirteen"; one volume each on the South and New England, and two allotted to the Middle Colonies. Of these four volumes, that by Mr. Andrews is much the most satisfactory, at least from the point of view of historical scholarship. He knows his New England thoroughly, and his studies of imperial administration and imperial commerce give him a surer hold on

the larger relationships of colonial history than appears in the other three volumes of this group. Remembering the strenuous assaults of the Adams family on the "filiopietistic" historians, one is struck with the cool detachment with which the present chronicler covers the same burning questions. There is, however, a question whether with the passing of prejudice there may not come some loss of insight into the finer and more heroic aspects of the Puritan spirit. In Miss Johnston's volume on *The Pioneers of the South*, we have, in the main, the familiar story pleasantly retold; the narrative of the fall of the Virginia Company, for instance, follows pretty closely the traditional view, without taking sufficient account of recent studies. About a third of this volume which begins with the charter of 1606 and ends with Oglethorpe at Savannah is given to the first ten years of the Jamestown colony. Generally speaking, adventure and picturesque incident leave comparatively little space for an adequate account of institutional development. The Smith-Pocahontas episode is told once more, though without vouching for its historical character.

Mrs. Goodwin brings to her work local historical information and some literary experience outside of the historical field, and she has used both to good advantage, especially in her pictures of social life during the Dutch period. In describing the European background of the New Netherland colony, however, she does not get much beyond a few generalizations from Motley. A writer on colonial New York does not easily escape the spell of Diedrich Knickerbocker, who supplies Mrs. Goodwin with her two frankly imaginative portraits of Hudson and Van Twiller. Naturally in a rapid survey, there are some slips; England's claim based on the Cabot voyages was doubtless used to its full value and beyond, but "apocryphal" is not exactly the word for it. The topics included in the English section of the volume are those which lend themselves best to picturesque treatment—Leisler's rebellion, Kidd and his fellow-pirates, the "negro plots", the Zenger trial, and Sir William Johnson, with comparatively little about religious or political institutions, or about later phases of economic development. The strategic importance of the New York frontier in the days of Peter Schuyler is missed here and not adequately presented in any of the later volumes.

In Fisher's *Quaker Colonies* the space allotted to Pennsylvania is unduly compressed, as compared with the other colonies on the Delaware, though his chapters on West Jersey are very readable. They are written with evident zest, and the historical pilgrim to that region should find the book an excellent companion. As an interpreter of Quaker mysticism and other phases of religious thought, the author seems less successful. In the long enumeration of German sects (p. 42), the Moravians are curiously omitted, the only reference to them being in connection with the massacre of Gnadenhütten. In general, the more eccentric religious groups are somewhat overstressed at the expense of the more numerous, and on the whole more important, Lutheran and Calvinistic

churches. The book is perhaps least satisfactory in its handling of imperial relations; in comparing, for instance, the Pennsylvania charter with that of Maryland, the important clauses in the later document which illustrate the development of imperial control are overlooked. Readers of Sharpless's *Quaker Government* and Root's *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government* will feel that the author has not stated adequately the Quaker problem of adjustment to English and imperial standards. A little surer hold on English constitutional history would have prevented the reference (p. 73) to annual elections and the right of an assembly to control its own adjournments as "standard Anglo-Saxon popular parliamentary rights".

So far the development has been traced by individual colonies, or sectional groups. In Andrews's *Colonial Folkways* the reader is given a more unified treatment of certain aspects of colonial life. The "folkways" dealt with in this volume are those usually associated with the term, social history. The book as it stands is excellent; there is probably no other presentation of the subject which enables the reader to visualize so clearly the American society of the later colonial era. One can only wish that something equally good might be done for those political conditions and movements which cut across provincial boundaries. The pre-Revolutionary series closes appropriately with Wrong's *Conquest of New France*, a good brief survey of Anglo-French competition in America from Frontenac to Montcalm. The Far West receives somewhat more than the conventional amount of attention, and recent studies in this field are used to good effect.

Taken as a whole, the series justifies the effort expended upon it by editor, authors, and publisher. It should help to make national history "more real and vivid" to many "citizens who are not in the habit of reading history". At a number of points, it also offers something worth while for the serious student, whether by the use of fresh material or by a less hackneyed use of old material. For all this we may be grateful.

Yet there are certain recent gains in colonial historiography which are not reflected in these volumes. The reader could hardly get from them an adequate notion of the colonies in their relation to the larger life of the empire of which they formed a part. American colonial history should not, of course, be examined exclusively from the imperial angle; the empire is rather a background to be kept pretty steadily in the consciousness of the observer. It is significant that, in the whole series under consideration, the only definite exposition of the Acts of Trade is in a note at the end of the volume on the southern colonies. Doubtless topics like administration and commercial policy are not easily made alluring to the general reader. Yet this phase of colonial history has some possibilities even from the point of view of dramatic interest. In the Restoration period, for instance, such topics as the conquest of New Netherland, the English occupation of the Hudson and Delaware valleys, the southward movement into the Carolinas, the Navigation

Acts, the chartering of the Hudson's Bay and Royal African companies, would gain rather than lose in interest if brought into relation, not only with each other, but with the whole story of expanding British enterprise which reached out toward the ancient East as well as toward the new West. Much the same thing might be said of colonial commerce, with its wealth of "human", not to say romantic interest.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs. By CLARENCE HENRY HARING, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XIX.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1918. Pp. xxviii, 371. \$2.25.)

THE first seven chapters of this book attempt a study of the administration of the trade. The last four present a general account of shipping conditions. An ample bibliographical treatise precedes the study itself. Of especial interest to students of Latin-American institutions is the author's estimate of the value of the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de Indias* as material for a study of this early period.

The first section of the book deals with the origin and early development of the Seville monopoly and describes its administration. One of the important topics treated is the opposition of the Cadiz merchants to the location of the Casa de Contratación in Seville. The part that the Canaries play in this trade is set forth as well. The second chapter traces the development of the Casa as an organization for the administration of this trade. There follows a comparison of the Spanish and Portuguese systems with contrasts as to origins and surrounding circumstances. The functions of the Casa as a commercial and nautical bureau as well as a court of law are noted. The duties of the various officials of the Casa are described in the next chapter which is entitled Organization *vs.* Efficiency. With exception of a reference to the practice of selling offices, there is nothing in this section to justify the implication of inefficiency.

An account of the registry system follows. Its original design was "to make smuggling more difficult and dangerous". It also facilitated the collection of royal imposts, of which the most important were the *avería* and *almojarifazgo*. The nature of these taxes and the method of their collection are explained, and an account of the illicit activities of the foreign interloper follows. Spain's emigration policy is seen to have varied according to the ruler. While no foreigners were allowed in America by Isabella, who restricted emigration to her Castilian and Leonese subjects, Ferdinand allowed all classes of Spaniards to migrate to the colonies, while Charles V. opened the doors of the Americas to non-Spanish subjects. The policy of restriction was restored by Philip, though his will and that of his successors were thwarted often by the

laxity and dishonesty of colonial and customs officials. After 1625, the proximity of other European colonies in the West Indies and in North America made the policy of exclusion more difficult to enforce.

Spain's paternalistic protection afforded to agriculture and industry is discussed under Spanish Monopoly. The American trade-routes are described, and especially those of Buenos Aires, the Philippines, and the Acapulco-Peruvian service. The following just characterization of Spain's colonial system here occurs (p. 153):

Spain did not invent the colonial system. . . . It was imitated later by the Dutch, English, and French. It was the policy then current, and believed to be best for the welfare and independence of the state. Nor did Spain's exclusivism greatly exceed that maintained by the other colonial powers. Her distinction rests upon the fact that she had the opportunity to employ it in a vaster theater than was given to any other nation before the nineteenth century.

The question of the crown's policy towards mining and the output of the mines is only distantly connected with the original subject as suggested by the title of the book. However interesting and useful this information may be, a discussion of the sources of Spain's quicksilver supply is not integrally a part of this thesis (see pp. 158-162), nor is minting (pp. 174-177). The embargo by the crown of large shipments of precious metals, and the ruin resulting to merchants are more pertinent. The Isthmus of Panama as a trade-route to Peru commands attention in the following chapter, together with some description of harbor and shipping facilities at Panama and the fair at Porto Bello. A brief history of the early development of the canal idea is given.

Chapter IX., on galleons and flotas and their routes, elaborates the briefer description of the shipping system essayed in preceding chapters, and adds some informative illustrations of the operations of French, English, and Dutch freebooters from 1537 onward. The work is concluded by an interesting array of data on ships and navigators, estimates of sizes of vessels at different epochs and of provisions and munitions necessary for armadas and ships at different periods. There is also an enlightening discussion of licenses, freight rates, insurance inspections, losses due to over-loading, unseaworthy ships, and poor seamanship.

The book embodies ten interesting appendixes, with statistical tables taken for the most part from the Archive of the Indies. The most valuable of all, appendix X., reproduces the ordinances of the Consulado of Seville on the subject of marine insurance, but there is no indication as to where these regulations may be found.

The method of citation of documents from the Archive of the Indies is faulty, because, in most cases, the date of the document referred to is not given, and frequently only the general archive place-number is given. Verification, under these circumstances, would be very difficult. Indeed, the introductory paragraph on page xv would mislead one to expect a

book written largely on the basis of documents from the above-mentioned archive. There is a striking absence of any attempt to test generalizations by the multiplication of numerous or detailed examples of actual occurrences pertinent to the subject, taken from the abundant material which exists in Spain. Extensive reliance is placed on Veitia Linaje and Antuñez y Acevedo, whose sequence of events and illustrations are followed quite faithfully in places. Fernández Duro is also used.

There is a tendency, perhaps unavoidable, on the part of the author, to return frequently to topics already referred to quite fully in earlier chapters, for fuller discussion, or treatment from a slightly different aspect. Digressions are frequent, material is contained in the body of the book which should be in foot-notes, and transitions are frequently so abrupt that unity is sacrificed; but a coherent and well-balanced treatment of an institutional subject, based on original sources, is difficult to write. Some confusion is certain to arise as a result of the use of the two terms, frequently in the same paragraph, "Casa de Contratación" and "India House", referring to the same institution.

This study is of value because it renders into English, with the author's comments, some portions of the treatises mentioned above. A service has been rendered in the reproduction and use of pertinent parts of the *Documentos Inéditos*. However, the subject of trade and navigation under the Hapsburgs is by no means exhausted for the scholar who would utilize the unpublished and hitherto unused documents which exist abundantly in Spain.

CHAS. H. CUNNINGHAM.

The North West Company. By GORDON CHARLES DAVIDSON, Ph.D.
[University of California Publications in History, vol. VII.]
(Berkeley: University of California Press. 1918. Pp. xi, 349.
\$3.00.)

THE author of this book was graduated at the University of California about the year 1912; afterward as travelling fellow spent more than a year (during which the Great War broke out) in research work in England and Canada; then returned to the University and received the degree of Ph.D. and prepared for publication by the University the thesis upon which this degree was based; and then immediately entered into active and distinguished service with the Canadian forces in France. Errors and ambiguities and hasty deductions in the text may therefore be readily understood and excused.

This is a book for the use of the scholar and is not of large human interest to the general reader. It contains many data of value to students of the fur-trade periods in Canadian and American history, and as the first publication in the United States under this title its appearance is welcomed. But it cannot be said to present a continuous and connected narrative of the romantic career of the North West Company, which

was the predecessor of the Hudson's Bay Company in exploration and trade over large portions of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca districts in Canada, and down the Mackenzie River and beyond the Rocky Mountains to the northwest coast of America. In this book the narration of events of one year is too often followed by that of events and occurrences of previous years, while too much space is devoted to the activities of individual traders of this and other partnerships and also of rival companies themselves. The ramifications of the various organizations among the fur traders were difficult to trace and are difficult to state with clearness, and cannot be followed easily in this book. The author has also depended too much on secondary sources; for instance, the references to David Thompson, whose field operations were especially notable and of permanent geographical value, are too frequently to Burpee's *Search for the Western Sea*.

But the reader, while confused as to the narrative, will feel that he has been given a considerable amount of valuable information and a wide list of sources from which to glean; for the sources mentioned are numerous even if not always used. The real value of the book then lies in its collection into a single volume of data that have been available only here and there and to a few, not all that exist but a considerable number; and especially in the insight it gives into the documents to be found in the Public Record Office and British Museum and other places of deposit in London and in the various Canadian archives. In this the author has contributed a service.

The book is not the last word upon the subject; the author especially disclaims this, for the reason that he was unable to examine the material in possession of the Hudson's Bay Company at London. But, *inter alia*, his lack of familiarity with the field of operations of the company on both slopes of the Rocky Mountains leaves room for another study.

The book contains good indexes, both general and geographical, and the statistical and documentary matter presented in seventy-three pages of appendixes is well selected. The physical make-up of the volume is excellent.

T. C. E.

The Passing of the Frontier: a Chronicle of the Old West. By EMERSON HOUGH. [Chronicles of America series, vol. XXVI.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1918. Pp. x, 181.)

The Forty-Niners: a Chronicle of the California Trail and El Dorado. By STEWART EDWARD WHITE. [*Id.*, vol. XXV.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. ix, 273.)

The Day of the Confederacy: a Chronicle of the Embattled South. By NATHANIEL W. STEPHENSON. [*Id.*, vol. XXX.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. xi, 214.)

Abraham Lincoln and the Union: a Chronicle of the Embattled North. By NATHANIEL W. STEPHENSON. [*Id.*, vol. XXIX.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. xiv, 272.)

The Anti-Slavery Crusade: a Chronicle of the Gathering Storm. By JESSE MACY. [*Id.*, vol. XXVIII.] (*Ibid.* 1919. Pp. ix, 245.)

The Cotton Kingdom: a Chronicle of the Old South. By WILLIAM E. DODD. [*Id.*, vol. XXVII.] (*Ibid.* 1918. Pp. x, 161.)

If one takes up Mr. Hough's book expecting to find a discussion of the frontier in its historical relations he will be disappointed. The book does not attempt to explain nor to account for the frontier. It has nothing to say about the influence of the frontier on American politics. Its light on conditions of life is chiefly incidental. It does not deal with the frontier in any other stage of its existence in America than in the mid-century period and a little later. Thus it is with the Rocky Mountain region and adjacent territory that we are made acquainted.

Making the necessary allowances for the author's right to limit his subject as he chooses, it must be admitted that he has written an interesting book. He is content to deal with the striking phases of frontier life in the Far West. He has chapters on the Range, the Cattle Trails, the Cowboy, the Mines, Pathways of the West, the Indian Wars, the Cattle Kings, and the Homesteader. None of these subjects is broadly treated. For example, the chapter on the cowboy is a vivid portrayal of a picturesque character in early western life. The Indian wars are not described categorically but some of the important battles are described as illustrations of the fighting. The Indian problem is presented from the standpoint of the man of the frontier, and little sympathy is shown for the Indians, even in such an affair as the so-called "Baker's Massacre". More successful, from the standpoint of the discriminating reader, is the chapter on the Cattle Kings, which takes large views of the subject and sums up in clear language the development of the cattle industry on the half-dry plains. The chapter on the homestead system is also good, but it is less coherent. In general Mr. Hough's descriptions are temperamental, sometimes reaching the note that one finds in the more sober descriptions by such writers as Miss Glasgow or James Lane Allen. As a popular description of a narrow but striking phase of our recent history the book is a success.

More didactic and less temperamental is Mr. Stewart Edward White's *The Forty-Niners*, although it treats of another picturesque phase of our history. It contains chapters on the Spanish régime, the arrival of the Americans, early military and civil law, the discovery of gold, the journey by way of Panama, life in the diggings; and there are several on the development of San Francisco, its mushroom prosperity, its chaotic society, and its Vigilantes of 1851 and 1856. The book has good proportions and is not marked by overstatement. It does not overemphasize

the abnormal, as many books on the same subject have done. Probably the average reader will appreciate most the eight chapters treating the development of San Francisco, more than half of the book. The story presented follows Bancroft's *Popular Tribunals* but it is well told and grips the reader. It is notable for the fairness it displays to the malefactors in office in general, although at this late day it would have been better to have dropped the notion that the swaggering adventurer who happened to be born in the South was in any serious sense a representative of "Southern chivalry". It is true the author disclaims the intention of implying that the Southerners concerned were of the best class in the South, but he proceeds to use terms as if he had forgotten his disclaimer. Finally, it must be said that the description of life in San Francisco in the fifties, which the author gives us in chapters XII. and XIII., is very successful. But the book is distinctly a popular book. To the student of history it is only necessary, in order to show to what extent this is true, to say that the discussion of early international boundary adjustments has no reference to the California line of 1819 (p. 20). It will be remarked, also, that the author puts it mildly when he says: "The status of Oregon had long been in doubt. Both England and the United States were inclined to claim priority of occupation" (p. 20).

In *The Day of the Confederacy* Professor Stephenson gives the public its first clear and readable account of the political life of the Confederacy. Beginning with a chapter on the Secession Movement he proceeds to the organization of the Confederate government and passes on to his main subject, the problems that confronted it and the manner in which they were met. The central theme is Jefferson Davis, his personality and his political career between 1861 and 1865. There is no attempt to deal with the military history of the time, and the critical periods of the war of the Confederacy are merely alluded to. The book is well balanced both as to judgment of men and as to the distribution of emphasis. On the whole the author is not favorable to Davis, although he does not show us another Confederate leader who in his opinion would have made a better president. He takes off some of the cloud that historians have usually hung over Rhett, when he describes Rhett's great mental ability. His chapters on the last phases of the Confederacy have especial interest, for they deal with matters that have been little discussed in other histories.

Perhaps Professor Stephenson is a little less successful in his companion volume, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union*. Here the task is to paint anew what has often been portrayed. It is done with skill and in attractive literary form. It treats of the period from 1854 to 1865, with the personality of Lincoln for the connecting theme. We miss the sense of discovery with which we read about the struggles of the Confederacy; for in dealing with the politics of the fifties and the perplexities of the war president we are on familiar ground. We note, also, that the narrative becomes more colorful, probably because it is hard to present Lincoln

without becoming eulogistic. It is a difficulty the author does not altogether surmount. On the other hand, a popular series like *The Chronicles of America* is no place for that dispassionate discussion of Lincoln to which thoughtful Americans look forward. It seems to the reviewer that the opponents of the President are too severely dealt with when they are labelled "the vindictives". The term is used cleverly and it serves to heighten the light on Lincoln, by way of contrast; but it is hardly just to men who were convinced that they were right. In the game of politics it is never safe to give all the integrity to one side and all the discredit to the other.

Professor Macy's *The Anti-Slavery Crusade* takes up the fight against slavery at the beginning and follows it through its course until the death of John Brown ushers in the Civil War. It is an orderly narrative, told in a straightforward way, with sympathy and admiration for the Abolitionists. The author pronounces it a "patent falsehood that abolitionists of the North were attempting to impose by force a change in Southern institutions" (p. 141). Perhaps he overestimates the likelihood that the non-slaveholders of the South could have been organized for abolition. Of all Southerners they had least sympathy for the negroes, and they were too undeveloped to find leaders among themselves. When a man of ability appeared among them he quickly became a slave-owner under the operation of economic laws. Professor Macy writes clearly and his narrative will please all who have the anti-slavery point of view. They will find little in it to show them how the opposite side defended their position. It is a Garrisonian book without Garrison's sharp tongue.

Professor Dodd's *The Cotton Kingdom* is a study of the planter. After presenting a brief survey of the position of the South in 1850, it proceeds with chapters on the Rise of the Cotton Magnate, the Social Philosophy of the Cotton Planter, Life and Literature in the Lower South, Religion and Education, and the Planter in Politics. The student who knows something about the conditions in the South before the war will lay the book down with the feeling that it presents the results of much careful research condensed into the space and expressed in the manner suited to a popular work. Especially good are the chapters on the cotton magnates and the philosophy of the planter. The pages in which the progress of pro-slavery philosophy is traced from Professor Dew to Chancellor Harper, John C. Calhoun, George Fitzhugh, and others of the period immediately before the beginning of the war stand out with more than ordinary distinction. The chapter on politics deals with facts that are better known to the ordinary reader, but they are well marshalled. However, in saying that the West and the South elected Jackson in 1828, Professor Dodd seems to overlook the important part played by Pennsylvania and New York in the Jackson movement. The triumph of 1828 was so nearly a popular revolution that it is hard to give the chief amount of credit to any sections or to any other issue than Jackson's personality.

Theodore Roosevelt, an Intimate Biography. By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1919. Pp. xx, 474. \$5.00.)

MR. THAYER's long friendship with Colonel Roosevelt has made it possible for him to create in his new biography an air of intimacy and reality. The spirit of Roosevelt impregnates it, and is displayed with the literary skill and rhetorical appreciation that belong to the writer's craftsmanship. Like the biography by another Harvard classmate, Charles G. Washburn, it presents a "friend's outlined portrait" (p. xi), in behalf of which Mr. Thayer maintains that we have "fallen too much into the habit of imagining that only hostile critics tell the truth" (p. xii). It is much more comprehensive than Mr. Washburn's sketch, but is not to be compared in this respect with Mr. J. B. Bishop's work, now under way. In its concluding chapters it is a crusading document as well as a biography.

For most of their lives Mr. Thayer and Colonel Roosevelt belonged to different parties, the former being a stubborn mugwump of 1884, who repudiated party regularity, stuck to the issue of independent reform, voted for Wilson in 1912, and revolted against him in 1916. Their political differences only whetted their friendship, which became more intimate after 1909, and was based upon complete unity after the outbreak of the Great War. As passionate sympathizers with the Allies, and believing early entry to be our duty, they hated and despised the Wilson administration. In the last two chapters it is almost impossible to determine whether Mr. Thayer is writing Colonel Roosevelt's life or his own, so frequent are his adjectives and epithets: "variegated", "sanctimonious", "paroxysms of boldness", "ignoble depths", "jelly-fish nation", "infatuation for President Wilson", "vacillating policy", "war by rhetoric", "timidity and evasion". No reticence conceals the fact that Mr. Thayer belongs to the group that "loathes the Administration" and thinks of it as "this curse upon the country" (p. 385).

The biography is throughout an impressionistic picture rather than a work of scholarship. Mr. Thayer has not used any large amount of manuscript material beyond his own correspondence with Colonel Roosevelt and the papers he handled in writing the life of John Hay. His statements of fact would in some instances have been more accurate had he reread that work more carefully. His assertion that the French Canal Company "was glad to sell" its Panama rights for forty millions (p. 182) might have been stated differently after refreshing his memory of that company's long struggle for nearly three times the amount. There are other errors, or interpretations, that invite comment: Roosevelt was not a member of the National Committee in 1884 (p. 43); the available material hardly justifies a sweeping statement (p. 48) as to the character of James G. Blaine; Andrew Jackson did not coin the phrase "to the victors belong the spoils", and may have been better than a

"good old political freebooter" (p. 86); Roosevelt was not "reappointed" to the Civil Service Commission by Cleveland, since his office had an indeterminate term and needed no reappointment (p. 96); nor was Cleveland President in 1892; the mounted part of the Rough Riders regiment was not at Las Guasimas (p. 125); it was Kettle Hill, not San Juan, that the regiment captured on July 1, 1898 (p. 126); McKinley did not die with his tariff views unrevised and unquestioned (p. 169) but rather with a restatement fresh from his lips in his Buffalo speech of September 5, 1901; if Lord Alverstone's decision on the Alaska boundary was his own, it is misleading to speak as though Roosevelt's "brusque way" terminated the dispute (p. 177); Senator Hanna did not bag "a good many delegates" in 1904, and died not in March, but on February 15 (p. 306, 307); Judge Parker did not explicitly charge blackmail against Mr. Cortelyou (p. 307), but insinuated the opportunity for it; Joseph G. Cannon began his career in Congress in 1873, not 1863 (p. 343); Roosevelt's earnest canvass for Stimson for governor in 1910 is ineptly described as "no active part in politics" (p. 347); the decision to run again, which Colonel Roosevelt talked over with Mr. Thayer and Judge Grant on February 25, 1912 (p. 351), had already been reached, since it is printed with a date line of February 24. It is worth noting that Colonel Roosevelt did not fully share Mr. Thayer's dislike for the Payne-Aldrich tariff (p. 340), since he gave it at least a qualified approval. After the "'Once-a-week-to-Falmouth' order" (p. 430) President Wilson did not wait for the "interchange of two or three more notes", but broke off relations with Germany on February 3, 1917; what occurred on April 6 was the declaration of a state of war.

The character of Colonel Roosevelt is convincingly presented here; but Mr. Thayer adds little to our knowledge of his life.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

Fighting Germany's Spies. By FRENCH STROTHER. (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company. 1918. Pp. xiv, 275.)

The German Secret Service in America. By JOHN PRICE JONES and PAUL MERRICK HOLLISTER. (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company. 1918. Pp. xiv, 340.)

Throttled! The Detection of the German and Anarchist Bomb Plotters. By Inspector THOMAS J. TUNNEY . . . of the New York Police Department, as told to Paul Merrick Hollister. (Boston: Small, Maynard and Company. 1919. Pp. xviii, 277.)

THESE volumes, three variations on the same general theme, were written for the obvious purpose of helping to satisfy wide-spread popular curiosity concerning the methods and practices of German spies in America during the period of the Great War. No one interested in the subject should ignore an earlier book by Mr. John Price Jones (at the time of writing it on the staff of the New York Sun), entitled *America En-*

tangled (1917), otherwise known in an English edition as *The German Spy in America*, and introduced by a letter to the author from Theodore Roosevelt and a brief foreword by Roger B. Wood, formerly assistant United States district attorney in New York. To-day, one year since the signing of the armistice, the theme of all these books has lost its hold upon popular attention. Now that the danger has passed, the public is no longer interested in the fate of such scoundrels as Franz von Rintelen or Robert Fay—it is enough to know that they have been punished. When in April, 1918, Mr. Strother first told the story of Werner Horn's trip under the direction of Captain Franz von Papen from New York City to Vanceboro, Maine, for the purpose of blowing up the railway bridge over the St. Croix River (*World's Work*, XXXV. 652-663), he gained the close attention of thousands of readers. The news item which told several days ago of Horn's condemnation by a Canadian court to imprisonment for a term of ten years, aroused hardly a word of comment.

Mr. French Strother's book is based upon a series of seven articles which appeared, very fully illustrated, in the *World's Work*, March-September, 1918. The text of the book, compared to the magazine narrative, has been slightly abbreviated; the illustrations in the book are not so numerous or so well executed. A concluding chapter, Dr. Scheele, Chemical Spy, is new—the story of this remarkable man would easily make a book of fair dimensions. Mr. Strother's articles, it may be recalled, took the place of a series which John R. Rathom, editor of the *Providence Journal*, was to have contributed under the general title *Germany's Plots Exposed*. A single opening article Mr. Rathom printed, "The German Spy System from the Inside" (*World's Work*, February, 1918); the reasons why the projected series stopped abruptly have never been disclosed. Disappointed subscribers, however, soon had reason to be grateful to Mr. Strother's skill as a story-teller. Indeed, on the question of authenticity they were reassured, for the author could say openly that his narrative was based on materials in the confidential files of the bureau of investigation of the Department of Justice—a bureau then under the direction of Mr. A. Bruce Bielaski as chief.

Mr. Strother's accounts of such careers as those of Werner Horn, of Captain Max Thierickens (recently deported), of Robert Fay, and of Von Rintelen in his relations to David Lamar, the "Wolf of Wall Street", are discreet but sufficiently detailed to afford any reader an insight into German methods of espionage as directed by high German authorities in Washington or in Berlin. Chapter VII., German Codes and Ciphers, opens the subject of a characteristic and peculiarly difficult series of problems that were partially solved by ingenious experts in the federal service. The facts as to the origin, organization, and workings of the American Protective League have nowhere been so directly or skillfully set forth as in chapter IX.

Mr. Strother's book was written rapidly for the purpose of meeting an editorial emergency and supplying a public demand. While perhaps

more authoritative, it is rather less matured than the Jones-Hollister volume. The latter book rests upon careful use of court records,* police reports, and miscellaneous materials of a quasi-official nature. To such sources Mr. Jones and his colleague devoted rather more than a year of study. They show remarkable ability in analyzing various aspects of a troublesome theme. I venture the opinion that in their chapter entitled *False Passports* (ch. VII., pp. 83-99), they give a statement nearer the truth than does Mr. Strother (ch. I., pp. 2 ff.). The extraordinary story of the so-called Hindu conspiracy—reaching a dramatic climax at the conclusion of the trial in San Francisco in April, 1918—has been admirably summarized (cf. Strother, pp. 223 ff.). The Tunney-Hollister book is of distinctly slighter texture than the other two volumes. But one will go far before coming upon a more striking story of skillful detective work than that revealed in chapter III. under the caption *Playing with Fire*. Chapter VIII. is concerned with the pathetic story of Erich Muentzer.

No one of the volumes under consideration is animated by any very serious purpose. They are written in brisk, colloquial style. They all represent strikingly good journalistic methods employed to arouse a public that was slow to anger and, until the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, notably inert. Subtle diplomats at Washington, backed by a ruthless and heartless general staff in Germany, were guilty of attempting to organize a system of espionage, world-wide in extent, for the purpose of dominating civilization. All the writers are inclined to overestimate German cleverness and the functioning of German administration in underhanded designs. The truth appears to have been that Germany worked in this, as in other matters, often at cross-purposes; and that from early in 1915 its well-laid schemes went awry owing to the skill of federal and local police authorities. Much more attention could have been given by all these authors to the remarkable functioning and operation of the federal bureau of investigation, for to that organization more than to any other single factor was the downfall of the German spy system in the United States due. Unlikely as it is that the vast collections of materials now in the custody of the Department of Justice will soon be made public, the story of the bureau of investigation, first organized in June, 1908, should be told by some one in the government service familiar with all its various details. Materials in its files, industriously gathered over the years from 1914 to 1918, would afford the basis for a very remarkable series of books.

HENRY BARRETT LEARNED.

Spain's Declining Power in South America, 1730-1806. By BERNARD MOSES. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1919. Pp. xx, 440. \$4.00.)

SUGGESTIVE introductory pages in this volume describe the environment of the Spanish colonists in South America. Its first chapter dis-

cusses the relations between the Spaniards and the Indians, indicating that, unlike the English colonists in North America, the Spanish colonists adopted the aborigines as an element in their society. Then the rôles played by the Spaniards, the creoles, and the mestizos are described. The thesis is formulated that the population of Spanish South America was eventually composed of two sharply contrasted groups: 1, a group formed of Spanish officials and other Spaniards who clung to the traditions and customs of their native land; and, 2, a group formed of "the combined classes of creoles, mestizos, and Indians" who formed the basis of a new society that resented Spanish domination. Another chapter considers in a general fashion conditions in Spain's dependencies in South America during the period from 1730 to 1750. Next the author describes the attempt of Spain and Portugal to determine their boundary in America in accordance with the treaty of 1750, and the resulting rebellion in the seven reductions which that treaty transferred to Portugal. A long chapter is devoted to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spanish America by virtue of the decree of Charles III., dated February 27, 1767—a measure which provoked much dissatisfaction in certain sections of Spanish America.

Chapter V. suggests the need for a fourth viceroyalty in Spanish America in the latter part of the eighteenth century, describes the creation of the viceroyalty of La Plata, and tells how the first viceroy at Buenos Aires entered upon the exercise of his duties. Chapter VI. is a well-considered account of the uprising of a descendant of the Inca dynasty, Tupac Amaru, in the viceroyalty of Peru in 1780, and suggests some of the consequences of the insurrection. The following chapter discusses the futile rebellion of the *comuneros* in the viceroyalty of New Granada that took place soon after the uprising of Tupac Amaru. Then Mr. Moses describes certain minor conspiracies against the old régime in the captaincy-general of Chile, notably that led by two Frenchmen, Antonio Gramuset and Antonio Berney. Explaining the reform initiated by the ordinance of intendants in the viceroyalty of La Plata, the author declares that the "power of Spain was declining in America because the governmental organization was inadequate to carry that power to points where its exercise was needed". Possibly the most interesting chapter in the book is that which describes the founding of literary journals in Quito, Lima, and Bogotá in the latter part of the eighteenth century. That chapter also devotes considerable attention to the botanical investigations of José Celestino Mutis in the viceroyalty of New Granada. It describes the dissemination of French revolutionary philosophy in northern South America by the enterprising creole Antonio Nariño, a precursor of Colombian independence. Chapter XI. describes conditions in two colonial capitals, Lima and Santiago, at the end of the eighteenth century, with some attention to social conditions and classes. Conditions in the captaincy-general of Venezuela are briefly considered in another chapter which discusses the abortive revolutionary conspiracy of España

and Gual in 1797. This chapter also considers the projects of Francisco de Miranda for the separation of Spanish America from the motherland and devotes some attention to the ill-starred expedition which, in 1806, he launched from New York City against the coast of Venezuela. Chapter XIII. contains a description of the British capture and the Spanish reconquest of Buenos Aires in 1807-1808. The succeeding chapter presents an account of conditions in the captaincy-general of Chile and the viceroyalty of Peru at the opening of the nineteenth century.

The author's thesis about the political alignment of social groups in South American colonial society will bear further investigation. Comparison and collation show that many pages of *Spain's Declining Power in South America* are identical, or almost identical, with the pages about corresponding topics in his earlier book entitled *South America on the Eve of Emancipation*. A few quotations are omitted from the volume under review, some changes are made in phraseology, and connecting passages are supplied. Yet, after making allowance for alterations, the major part of chapters V., VI., IX., XI., XIII., and some pages in chapter XIV.—nearly one-quarter of *Spain's Declining Power in South America*—has been republished from Mr. Moses's earlier book, without any mention of that fact. Although the author has doubtless studied his subject long, yet the volume under review has no maps; it does not contain a distinct bibliography; and some important titles are not mentioned in the unmethodical foot-notes. His style is clear and, in general, interesting; but the proof-reader has failed to correct divers typographical errors. Professor Moses has performed a useful service to students of Spanish-American history, for his volume brings together, as no other book has done before, a large amount of information concerning events, reforms, and tendencies in Spanish South America during the later decades of Spanish rule—information which is indicative of the widespread discontent that Napoleon's usurpations in the Iberian Peninsula fanned into the Spanish-American Revolution.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

MINOR NOTICES

The State and the Nation. By Edward Jenks. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1919, pp. vii, 312, \$2.00.) In 1900, Mr. Jenks published, in the *Temple Primers* series, *A History of Politics*, which, as he says, met with "an unexpected welcome". The book was planned as a counterpart to Sir Frederick Pollock's *Introduction to the History of the Science of Politics*. The latter, as everyone knows, deals with the history of political theory, and what Mr. Jenks undertook was to give "a brief account of what men have done, not of what they have thought, in that branch of human activity which we call Politics, or the Art of Government". Obviously, the title was ill-chosen; the book might better

have been described as an "Introduction to the Comparative History of Institutions—Political, Social, and Economic".

The merit of the *History of Politics* lay in the point of view which it presented, not in its execution. The treatment was sketchy, rather than condensed; the product of enthusiasm, rather than of knowledge; and it made up in the use of italics for what it lacked in authority. *The State and the Nation* is an expansion of the earlier volume, and holds closely to the tradition of its predecessor. The new title is no more appropriate, and the enlargement to twice the original length implies no serious addition to the author's preparation by research. Mr. Jenks has realized that there is a demand for a statement of the "main lines of social and political evolution", but the twenty years which he has had to revise and enlarge his work have not been utilized in the effort to avail himself of a notable opportunity.

Take, for example, his part I., Primitive Institutions. The ten pages of 1900 have become eleven in 1919. Originally, his authorities for this division consisted of Spencer and Gillen, Fison and Howitt, and L. H. Morgan; the studies of two decades have enabled him to discover Sir Alfred Lyall's *Asiatic Studies* (1882), and Miss Mary Kingsley's *West African Studies* (1899). Again, part II., Patriarchal Institutions, has been expanded from fifty-seven pages to eighty-two. In this, the only new sources quoted are the Old Testament and Miss Mary Kingsley; in the earlier form he had relied mainly on Seebohm and Fustel, and twenty years have allowed a single chance allusion to Vinogradoff to escape his mind. This is typical of the book—to refer Mr. Jenks to the authorities he has overlooked would be to give a list of everything he should have consulted.

Notwithstanding all this, the book deserves attention. It stands as a first rough sketch of a work that is urgently needed at the present time. For this work, however, we cannot look to the ineradicable amateurism of the English; we shall have to wait, I presume, for one to be "made in Germany".

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

A History of the Jews. By Paul Goodman. (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1919, pp. xii, 164, \$1.50.) For one to write an unprejudiced history of his own people, particularly when that people has long been the object of universal prejudice and persecution, is no easy task, but it is a task that has been well accomplished in the book under review. In six chapters the author sketches the whole history of the Jews from the early Old Testament patriarchs down to the present time. Manifestly this is a tremendous stretch of history for one small book to cover, so that it cannot be anything more than a sketch. Most of the important developments during that long period are noted, but of course there can be little discussion of each. The book is a "marshalling and statement of facts", but withal it will be found fairly readable by the

general reader. To the specialist, however, it has little, if anything, to offer. A mere recital of events is not scientific history-writing.

The Old Testament period of Jewish history is the least satisfactory of the book. The author here simply gives the traditional Old Testament story, apparently without knowing that modern scientific study has changed that story in a host of particulars and changed it in a way to make it all the more romantic. The later history of the Jews under Roman, Christian, and Moslem rule is rather better done. The author notes with justice that the Jew was allowed more freedom by Roman and Moslem than by Christian, but he ought also to have noted that the Christian was no less intolerant of his fellow-Christian who disagreed with him in matters of religion. In the recent period the author would have done well to have noted that the Jews are to-day not so united as a casual reading of his book might seem to indicate, but are divided into camps like most of the human race.

If one desires a compendium of facts in Jewish history, he could probably find no better one than the present volume, but as a history it is not a little disappointing, and is scarcely representative of modern Jewish scholarship.

THEOPHILE J. MEER.

Hellenic Conceptions of Peace. By Wallace E. Caldwell, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXXIV., no 2, whole no. 195.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1919, pp. 140, \$1.25.) This is an interesting study written by a man well grounded in Greek history, a pupil of the late Professors Sill and Botsford to whose memory the book is dedicated. It was, moreover, an excellent idea at this time to investigate the reaction of the Greeks, in the successive epochs of their development, on their failure to maintain peace for any considerable length of time. Our main criticism is that Dr. Caldwell has not kept his aim steadily enough in view. In fact, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that there has been a certain shifting of aim as the work proceeds. The first part of the thesis might be entitled with equal, if not greater propriety, *Hellenic Conceptions of War*, and on page 84 the author himself makes clear that it is to ascertain their "opinions on the subject of peace and war" that he is scrutinizing Greek authors. The middle part of the book comes perilously near treating the attitude of persons and parties in Athens to peace (as against further prosecution of the struggle) in the Peloponnesian War; and it is only in the concluding chapter, the one devoted to the fourth century, that the thesis comes to deal squarely with the problem of peace in general. Nor is this accidental; for it was only *then* that the Greeks became conscious of the fact that there was no war more necessary than the war against war itself—that the devising of some ways and means of preserving peace in Greece was the supreme task and test of statesmanship. The concluding chapter is accordingly the most valuable part of the book.

That it does not stand alone, and in greater amplitude perhaps, but is prefaced by so lengthy a peace-versus-war review of all previous Greek history and literature, raises a general question as to the desirable scope of doctors' dissertations on Greek and Roman history, into which the reviewer wishes to enter only so far as to suggest that the model of the thesis prepared in other fields of history where the sources as yet untouched are infinitely more abundant is not necessarily a good model for candidates in ancient history. It may well be that the best thesis in Greek and Roman history is oftentimes an article rather than a book, and that in the training of the doctor in this field, more emphasis should be placed on the study of numerous well-formulated problems and on wide reading in literature and philosophy than is done elsewhere. In Dr. Caldwell's case there is no suggestion that this sort of preparation is lacking, but it is amiss, we think, that his special contribution is mixed inextricably with much Greek history that is perfectly familiar to scholars—for whom obviously doctors' dissertations are intended.

W. S. FERGUSON.

Blessed Giles of Assisi. By Walter W. Seton. [British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol. VIII.] (Manchester, University Press, 1918, pp. vii, 94.) Blessed Giles was one of the little group of simple-minded, single-hearted men who were the first to cluster around St. Francis of Assisi and might, if he had not been so humble and retiring, have claimed a place second to none among the founders of the great religious movement which stirred western Christendom in the early thirteenth century.

Hitherto there has been no critical version of his life published in England nor any translation of it into English. To supply both the one and the other—such is the object of this work. Speaking broadly, we may distinguish two elements within the compass of Mr. Seton's volume—one which will interest the general reader and one which will appeal rather to the specialist. The portion of general interest is comprised in the first four chapters (pp. 1-23), which contain an admirable biographical sketch of Giles from the time of his meeting with St. Francis in 1209 to his death at Monteripido fifty-three years afterwards. Chapter V, which deals with the complex question of the manuscript sources for the life of Giles (pp. 24-49) together with the text and translation of Codex Canonici Misc. 528 in the Bodleian Library which follow forms the part of the book of most interest to students.

To combine the critical and the popular is never an easy task and Mr. Seton is to be congratulated on the success with which he has accomplished it in this instance. For he has displayed great skill not only in his translation and study of the Oxford manuscript which forms the basis of the present edition—and the Latinity of which is often peculiar—but also in his attempt to make the personality of Giles real and living to English readers. The appendix contains a good general bibliography and a full index. In giving us this the eighth volume of its *Publications*,

the British Society of Franciscan Studies has made all students of medieval literature once more its debtors.

PASCHAL ROBINSON.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Third, A.D. 1241-1242. Prepared and edited by Henry Lewin Cannon, Associate Professor of History, Leland Stanford Junior University. [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, vol. V.] (New Haven, Yale University Press; London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1918, pp. xv, 442, \$6.00.) Scholars who have deplored the dearth of printed financial and administrative documents relating to the thirteenth century, will welcome the appearance of the pipe roll of 26 Henry III. They are greatly indebted to the late Henry L. Cannon, its editor, and to the Yale University Press, which made its publication possible, for the first pipe roll of the long reign of Henry III. that has appeared in print.

Dr. Cannon's brief introduction describes the manuscript of the roll and the subsidiary financial documents of the year. The Latin of the text of the roll has been extended. The foot-notes contain the variant readings of the chancellor's roll and are invaluable in the checking of names of towns and individuals. The labor of identifying institutions and other matters has been rightly left to the historical investigator. There are two full indexes, one an *index nominum et locorum*, the other, an *index rerum*. The book is a model of very careful editing and of excellent press-work.

Like all of the pipe rolls, the present document is full of information on the events and institutions of the day. The departure of the king from England in 1242 receives indirect attention, in various places, through the references to the gathering of treasure and the assembling of weapons and food-stuffs. The account of the receipts and expenditures of the queen's household is full of intimate details. In the same class is the statement of the expenditures on the repairs of the castle of Kenilworth. The sheriff of Northampton is stated to have expended considerable sums of money on the care of royal falcons and hunting dogs as well as for the repair of monastic establishments in which the king was interested.

To those interested in the methods of administering justice, the pipe roll will prove of great value. Amerciaments levied by royal justices, payments made for writs, fines of all sorts, and payments exacted by justices of the forest, appear in almost every county. Students of taxation will find references to the attempts to collect the arrears of the fortieth of 1232 and the thirtieth of 1237. Scutages, tallages, and even the carucage, receive attention.

The system used in recording the sheriff's accounts is essentially the same as that of the time of Henry II. The finer distinctions of the author of the *Dialogus* are, however, not strictly observed, any more than

they were in Henry's reign. Dr. Cannon, in his introduction, has called attention to the "not infrequent" erasures and omissions in the roll and has commented on the lack of efficiency thus displayed.

JAMES F. WILLARD.

The People's Faith in the Time of Wyclif. By Bernard Lord Manning. [Thirlwall Essay, 1917.] (Cambridge, University Press, 1919, pp. xvi, 196.) Though brief this book contains much of value to students looking beneath the surface. Many points in the Wycliffite movement need investigation; but the fundamental question is, what was the actual religious condition of the times? This Mr. Manning undertakes to study in the popular contemporaneous literature. His method is clear and simple. He first discusses the ways in which religion was presented to the people. He then asks: How much did the average man know about his religion or might reasonably be expected to know and understand if he availed himself of means everywhere at his disposal; how was religion manifested in daily life? Finally he shows how the average man looked at some great problems then agitating men's minds. These were the problem of poverty, of freewill, and of prayer. That these were actual problems considered by others than theologians and agitators, is in itself an illuminating fact as to the religious conditions of the times. Though the writings of such mystics as Walter Hilton, Julian of Norwich, and Richard Rolle of Hampole might well have been used with more caution, the result of the author's investigations will be a surprise to many and will help all who have worked in this period. There is so much patient and profitable research, presented in a well-digested form with very many citations to support and illustrate assertions, that the book will be fairly judged by this rather than by the rather naïve summaries and generalizations and the sometimes wavering judgments. Mr. Manning has convincingly shown that there is more religion in any age than that which is satirized by poets, and that one does not have to follow the methods of Cardinal Gasquet to discover it in the fourteenth century.

JOS. CULLEN AYER, jr.

Ulrich Zwingli: Zum Gedächtnis der Zürcher Reformation, 1519-1919. (Zürich, Buchdruckerei Berichthaus, 1919, cols. 308, pl. 181, pp. 54 in pocket, 70 fr., edition de luxe 150 fr.) No student of the Reformation should fail to know this sumptuous volume. It is Zürich as a whole—its archives, its library, its university, as well as its "Zwingli Verein"—which thus commemorates the New Year's Day four hundred years ago when Ulrich Zwingli began there his career. Under the general editorship of Dr. Hermann Escher, librarian and historian, a multitude of scholars, not all Swiss, have lent their aid. Meyer von Knonau writes on Zürich in 1519, Köhler on Zwingli as theologian, Oechsli on Zwingli as statesman, Farner on his domestic life, Lehmann on his relations and Zürich's with art. Not less precious are the masterly little vignettes of

biography and history prefixed to the portraits and facsimiles. But, it is these portraits themselves (fifty of them, largely from contemporary paintings and in color), the views of old Zürich (likewise largely in color), the more than a hundred superbly photographed letters and written documents, not to mention the reproduced title-pages and broadsides, that give this volume its most unique value. Now for the Zürich Reformation, as already for that at Wittenberg or at Strasburg, the student is equipped for a first-hand study of topography and of handwritings. The letters are accompanied not only by transcriptions, but by translations into German; and happily these transcriptions are so printed as to be detachable from the volume when their help should not be premature.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Papers relating to the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643-1647. Edited with an Introduction by Charles Sanford Terry, Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. In two volumes. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, second series, vols. XVI., XVII.] (Edinburgh, the Society, pp. cvi, 297; vii, 307-696.) These papers are chiefly the accounts of Sir Adam Hepburne, Lord Humble, commissary-general of the Army of the Solemn League and Covenant. Volume I. includes the Articles and Ordinances of War for the Scottish Army in 1644, a schedule of the arms and ammunition received by the general of artillery from the Scottish and English magazines for the expedition to England, and Hepburne's account as treasurer of the army. In volume II. is contained an account of the expenses for supplies of food and general accounts of receipts and expenses.

The introduction sketches the course of events that led the Scottish forces to join with the English, explains the organization of the Scottish army under Alexander Leslie, earl of Leven, enumerates the personnel of the officers, and adds some comments on Hepburne's account books. Professor Terry shows that the revenues of the army came from other than parliamentary sources, from assessments made upon the Scottish counties and upon the northern and "associate" counties, from monies borrowed, and from fines upon "malignants". The Scottish army also received a certain amount of clothing and food from England and profited from customs and excise dues levied in English ports.

The accounts have great value for the student of military history and for the student of prices. Leven very obviously carried into Scottish military methods much of Swedish and German practice. "Swede-feathers" formed a part of the equipment; firelocks were more common than in Cromwell's army; "half-pikes" were used. It is evident that Leven used more heavy artillery and more munitions for such artillery than the English. But mobile three-pounder guns were much depended upon. While the Scottish cavalry, mounted upon small "nags", were lighter than the English, it seems probable that they were better equipped with pistols and even muskets. The Scottish used a remarkable propor-

tion of spades and mattocks to the number of men. Leven, like his master Gustavus Adolphus, must have put faith in trenches.

Economic facts as to prices and places of manufacture are to be had on almost every page. Scottish soldiers and officers seem to have been paid on a much lower scale than their English brethren. Prices for wares and food seem less in northern England and Scotland than in the south. It is interesting to observe how much manufacturing of munitions and guns took place in Scotland.

Professor Terry's two volumes bear throughout the evidence of careful editing. He has done a drudge-like task in such a way as to save work and furnish evidence for many future historians.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

Ceylon and the Hollanders, 1658-1796. By P. E. Pieris, Deraniyagala Samarasinha Sriwardhana, D. Litt. (Tellippalai, Ceylon, American Ceylon Mission Press, 1918, pp. xvi, 181.) The period of Dutch rule in Ceylon has been little studied, and therefore this book, in spite of some defects, is welcome. The author is a member of the Ceylon civil service who has had access to considerable collections of local material, and who has now ready for publication another volume on Ceylon and the Portuguese. He provides a narrative of political and military events during the Dutch period, and makes some contributions to the constitutional and economic history of the island.

The features of the policy and administration of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon were very similar to those found in other eastern possessions under its rule. It sought commercial profit, and had little regard for measures which did not promise a direct return in goods or money. The natives were forced to supply products, notably cinnamon, which the company could market to advantage; but the incompetence and dishonesty of the administration gave rise to innumerable leaks, and the profits went in large part to officials trading on their private account. The natives were subject to economic oppression and neglected in every other respect. The Dutch never established themselves firmly, and remained masters of the island merely because of the lack of strong rivals.

The author prints a list of sources covering four pages, but unfortunately fails to support his text by specific references to them. It would be interesting to know the authority for the statement so often made and repeated here that the Dutch burnt the surplus spices to prevent a glut of the market, but on this and similar points the reader is left to his own resources. The book is imperfect in another and more important respect: the author appears to have relied for his Dutch material only on sources which have been translated into English. A considerable amount was available in this form, but of course the bulk of the material was not. Until some scholar has gone through the *Dagh Register gehouden in 't Casteel Batavia*, and the *Nederlandsch-Indisch Plakaatboek*, to instance only two large collections, and gleaned the material scattered in

Dutch periodicals and the publications of learned societies, the history of Ceylon under the Dutch will be in a merely provisional stage.

CLIVE DAY.

Danton et la Paix. Par Albert Mathiez, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Besançon. (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1919, pp. 262, 3.50 fr.) In this volume Professor Mathiez carries his campaign against the "légende Dantonienne" into new territory. In his *Études Robespierristes*, reviewed here last July, he seemed mainly desirous of establishing the fact of Danton's venality. He hinted, it is true, that the "Mirabeau of the populace" dabbled upon occasion in treasonable intrigues. Now, after a re-examination of the foreign relations of France from the outbreak of war with Austria until the spring of 1794, Professor Mathiez has convinced himself that Danton was a traitor. Treason has its fashions like everything else, and Danton's treason, so the author explains, was of a cut distinctly new; he was a "défaitiste". It is certainly ingenious to utilize the discredit which in France attaches to negotiations with the ancient enemy, on any other basis than his abject surrender, as a means of blackening the memory of Robespierre's victim.

All the way through his treatment of Danton's career Professor Mathiez urges that there were two Dantons, "le tribun véhément qui jette un défi aux tyrans de l'Europe" and a "défaitiste d'autant plus redoutable qu'il est plus habile et plus insaisissable, et dont le Comité de Salut Public ne peut briser l'opposition souterraine que par le grand coup de force d'un procès révolutionnaire". To support this theory the author commandeers every rumor and every libel current in a period when men's minds were warped by suspicion and prejudice. He warns us that it is unwise to reject the impressions of contemporaries, because these may have been based upon evidence that has not come down to us; a principle of criticism unfortunate for admirers of Robespierre, of whom most of his contemporaries had a very poor opinion. Professor Mathiez presents as an example of "defeatism" the policy of the first committee of public safety, of which Danton was the leading member, and especially the decree of the Convention on April 13, 1793, which repudiated the earlier pledge of intervention in behalf of insurrectionaries everywhere. This has commonly been taken as an indication of a return to sanity. Even less convincing is the attempt to prove that Danton and his friends were scheming for a premature and dishonest peace in the winter of 1793-1794. The whole work reads too much like a detailed brief for the prosecution.

H. E. B.

Fifty Years of Europe, 1870-1919. By Charles Downer Hazen, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1919, pp. 428, \$2.00.) In about three-quarters of its contents

this volume is substantially identical with chapters XX.-XXXVII. of Professor Hazen's *Modern European History*, published in 1917. The borrowed material has been skillfully reshaped by some changes of sequence, by expansion in a few places, and by numerous changes of tense, so as to make it read as if the whole book had been written just after the signing of the armistice with Germany. To the final chapter of the earlier volume, which stopped with the beginning of military operations in 1914, about twenty-five thousand words have been added, bringing the narrative of the World War to the close of hostilities. The difficult task of selection and condensation has been performed with rare skill. Among brief reviews of the war this chapter will take high rank.

The outbreak of war in 1914 revealed, with something like the shock and vividness of a flash of lightning, the fact that historians, despite much self-complacency, had been interpreting the history of Europe since 1870 in woefully imperfect fashion. There was, consequently, much need that at the earliest opportunity some competent scholar should write a small book of attractive quality which would furnish a correct and adequate interpretation of the period. Professor Hazen has met the requirement with much the best book of its kind which has yet appeared.

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

Souvenirs. Par Take Jonesco. (Paris, Payot et Cie., 1919, pp. 249, 4.50 fr.) This book, as the author informs us at the outset, does not contain his memoirs, which are to appear presently, but only a preface to them, a selection from "the thousands of articles that I have published since August 1, 1914". It must be judged accordingly, with due allowance for the time and also for the circumstances under which the articles were written. Mr. Take Jonesco, in the course of a long official career, has come into contact with many important public men in several countries, and, in certain cases, the contact has been intimate. He has given us here some of his impressions about them as confided by him to a Rumanian newspaper during the course of the war. Perhaps it is no more than natural that we are apt to get as much about what he said to his interlocutors as about what they said to him. Some of the conversations reported are quite interesting, even if they contain no startling revelations. We note, particularly, the descriptions of the sincere and persistent optimism of Prince Lichnowsky until almost the outbreak of hostilities, of the character and abilities of Kiderlen Wächter, whom Mr. Jonesco knew well and admired, though with qualifications, and of Talaat Pasha, whom he prevented in Bucharest, after a lively interview, from handing in an ultimatum to Greece in 1913. Of all the people described, Venizelos comes in for the highest praise. The last forty-nine pages of the book are taken up with a speech of the author to the Rumanian chamber of deputies on the Policy of National Instinct.

A. C. C.

L'Opinion Allemande pendant la Guerre, 1914-1918. Par André Hallays. (Paris, Perrin et Cie., 1919, pp. 265, 3.50 fr.) This short book is a summary of German opinion during the war. It is a chronological survey of the changing fortunes of German arms, a kind of spiritual temperature-chart of Germany, of the exaltation during the early months of the war, of the hopes and fears during the Verdun struggle, of the continuous depression resultant from the blockade, of the great discouragement of 1916, of the longing for change or revolution in France—a hope deferred that made the German heart sick—of the forced cheerfulness during the spring of 1918, and of the despair and fear during the last months.

There is little attempt to differentiate German opinion. A German to the author is a German and nothing more. He does show that there was a peace party and a Pan-German party. One of the best features of his account, indeed, is his history of the gradual rise of peace sentiment. But he does not distinguish between the many and interesting shades of opinion. Nor does he interpret or analyze. He might well have done for all Germany what Edwyn Bevan has done so well for the German Socialists.

M. Hallays wishes to be fair and sets for himself excellent standards; he could hardly have chosen a more representative group of newspapers, and he has published documents hitherto unrepresented to the public. Nevertheless he falls far short of his own ideals. His Germans are those to be found in French newspapers during the war. His Germans do not admit any failure in the first battle of the Marne until six months later; his Germans number in their ranks no liberals; his Germans utter in their newspapers only such ideas as are approved or tolerated for good reason by the *Hauptquartier*. But anyone who has had to read the German newspapers of the war knows that there was almost as much freedom of the press in Germany as in America.

What faith the Germans had in propaganda! If sentiment in neutral countries turned against them, their agents were to blame and should be removed. One is impressed with the effect of hunger on German opinion. And one is not surprised to find that the German excuses for military failure ring like those to which we all had to listen.

Two of M. Hallays's conclusions deserve mention. The Germans were down-hearted by the autumn of 1916. A successful Allied offensive at that time should, he believes, have ended the war. He says further that from August of 1918 the Germans knew that the game was up and looked forward fearfully. It seems that the German does not fight best with his back to the wall.

The book may be safely placed on the war-shelves, close to propaganda works. It will have some value for the historian, but far better books should soon appear.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

Histoire des États-Unis de 1787 à 1917. Par Georges Weill, Professeur à l'Université de Caen. [Bibliothèque France-Amérique.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1919, pp. 216, 5.50 fr.) The *Bibliothèque France-Amérique* was begun about ten years ago by the Comité France-Amérique in order to bring about a greater degree of understanding and sympathy between France and the western hemisphere. It includes volumes on Canada, Costa Rica, the Argentine Republic, Peru, and others, together with several later numbers which refer more particularly to the World War. Professor Weill's volume is intended to supply the need of an account in French of the history of the United States since the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

Two-thirds of the book relates to the period from 1787 to the outbreak of the Civil War. For these years the author has relied heavily upon Professor McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*. For the Civil War and reconstruction he has depended, as everybody else does, upon Mr. Rhodes. As might be expected, these portions of the volume are most satisfactory. The last thirty pages are devoted to the years since 1877 and are, naturally, more fragmentary. On the whole, the style of the author is straightforward and the emphasis is usually well placed. There are seven maps and illustrations and a brief bibliography, but no index.

In the portion of the volume after the Civil War the author has fallen into more errors than are noticeable in the earlier pages. For example, Charles Sumner should hardly be classed with Carl Schurz as a leader in the Liberal Republican movement of 1872 (p. 163); it is not accurate to lay the election of Mr. Cleveland in 1884 solely to the dissatisfaction of the Prohibitionists with the Republican party (p. 169); Mr. Blaine was the presidential nominee in 1884, but only a candidate for the nomination in 1876 and 1880 (p. 173); Mr. Taft was not a senator from Ohio (p. 181); and Colombia has not yet been indemnified for the events of 1903 (p. 191). These however are small matters. In the main Professor Weill's book should lead to a better understanding of American history in France.

CHARLES R. LINGLEY.

The Movement for Statehood, 1845-1846. Edited by Milo M. Quaife. [Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, vol. XXVI.; Constitutional Series, vol. I.] (Madison, the Society, 1918, pp. 545, \$1.50.) The people of the territory of Wisconsin in the middle of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century entered upon the successive steps whereby they were to attain fuller self-government in the "family of republics". *The Movement for Statehood* is the first of a projected series of four volumes which, when completed, is to afford from original sources an account of this process. The other volumes are to treat, respectively, of the convention of 1846; the discussions concerning ratifica-

tion and the rejection of the first constitution in April, 1847; and the convention of 1847 and final ratification.

The present volume has by way of preliminary survey a suggestive introduction by Superintendent Quaife, a careful paper on the Admission of Wisconsin to Statehood by Dr. Louise P. Kellogg, and a reprint of the valuable article by Professor Paxson entitled, *Wisconsin—a Constitution of Democracy*. There is also an interesting sketch-map of the territory prepared by Mary S. Foster. There follow in part II. sundry official messages, reports, and debates. Part III., which forms the larger portion of the volume, is made up of selections from newspapers representing different sections of the territory and revealing many shades of political opinion.

To make thus readily accessible to historical students material drawn from the rich files at Madison is commendable. The selections deal with an interesting array of topics, and the editing has been carefully done. Yet minor typographical errors occasionally have crept in, the most serious being the confusion of lines at the top of page 105, and the use of "constitution" instead of "convention" on page 295; but such slips are few. A general criticism may be directed against the too strict parsimony in the use of subsidiary notes. It is all very well to let the documents tell the tale; but a few remarks, for example, concerning the political bias and editorship of each newspaper quoted and concerning the careers of such men as Ryan and the Stronges would give needed guidance to readers and relieve somewhat the tedium of discussions which are sometimes dreary and mediocre.

In order properly to appreciate these debates and discussions, it is well for the student of history to bear in mind how far in the van of liberalism in reality were these commoners of Wisconsin—in contrast, particularly, with the stage of development in Europe; then one senses the impressiveness of the constitutional movement which they well typify, and catches here and there brilliant statements of democratic doctrine. This volume is of such character as to cause us to look expectantly for the others of the series.

WILLIAM TRIMBLE.

The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War. By Annie Heloise Abel, Professor of History, Smith College. [The Slaveholding Indians, vol. II.] (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919, pp. 403, \$5.00.) This volume, the second to appear of a series of three on the American Indians as slaveholders and secessionists, as participants in the Civil War, and under reconstruction, opens with the participation of Indian regiments on the Confederate side in the battle of Pea Ridge, subsequent to the treaties of alliance with the Confederacy so fully treated in the first volume. From a military point of view this participation was of slight importance and was accompanied by serious violations

of the laws of civilized warfare. Thereafter from the Confederate side the record is one of neglect and exploitation. Supplies, equipment, and the white regiments promised the Indians for their defense were withheld or diverted, while several rather unsuccessful attempts were made to use the Indians in connection with operations in Arkansas and Missouri—all directly contrary to the spirit if not the letter of the treaties of alliance.

The federal employment of Indian regiments was occasioned by the presence in southern Kansas of several thousand destitute refugees from the secessionist tribes to the southward. Regiments organized from these refugees with white troops did restore federal control as far south as the Arkansas River, but the attack on the secessionist Indians was never pushed home; the operations were hampered by frequent changes in policy and command, incident to Kansas and Missouri politics, and were always subordinated to the military problems in Arkansas and Missouri.

On both sides the Indians were used for scouting, in raids, and in irregular partizan warfare; but except for the two participations mentioned, the organized Indian regiments had little share in the war and that with negligible results. With very few exceptions the military leaders on both sides had no interest in the problems of the Indians themselves nor that clear conception of the strategic importance of Indian country which had led to the very liberal treaties of alliance with the Confederacy. Pike, the negotiator of the treaties, was driven from command when he attempted to maintain even a little of the autonomy which the treaties were to guarantee. In fact the participation of the Indian was in many ways that of a bewildered onlooker and victim. As usual he was the victim of his own helplessness, and after the war was to pay dearly for what in large measure he was powerless to avoid.

Like all Miss Abel's work, the book shows unmistakable evidence of accurate and exhaustive use of the original material and a presentation which is a model as to references, documentation, and bibliography. But in the opinion of the reviewer it is open to serious question whether the material or the problem justifies a volume of this length. The factors and the conclusions are clearly presented and proven; it is difficult to see the advantages of such an accumulation of evidence, all tending to the same conclusions, in the form of factual narrative of intrigues and skirmishes which in themselves would seem to have little interest or value even to the antiquarian.

The I. W. W.: a Study in American Syndicalism. By Paul Frederick Brissenden, sometime Assistant in Economics at the University of California and University Fellow at Columbia. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXXXIII., whole no. 193.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1919, pp. 432, \$3.50.) Mr. Brissenden has devoted a large amount of time for several years to the preparation of this book, has practically exhausted all of the sources, has visited the

local and national headquarters, interviewed most of the leaders, and presented a truly authoritative and complete history of the movement. He brings out clearly the contrasts with the other forms of labor organizations, and shows that the I. W. W. is not an imported product from France but has sprung from American conditions. It is a protest against political and industrial government from above. While the author endeavors to let the "wobblies" tell their own story, and does it so correctly that none of them can object, yet his estimate of them and their philosophy and methods is plain. They are "grotesquely unprepared for responsibility" and "they would be no less relentless Prussians than the corporations we have with us".

How miscellaneous and uncertain are the I. W. W. is shown by their several forerunners, by the discussions in their conventions, by their small and changing membership, by their successive splits. In some cases whole organizations, and in many cases individuals, have gone over to the fold of the American Federation of Labor, after experiencing the futility of the I. W. W. In another case, the organization split in two, with a Socialist secession devoted to political action, and the I. W. W. proper devoted to "direct action". The latter is the main theme of the book. The free-speech fights, sabotage, "job control", the contest over decentralization, and other characteristic features are well brought out, and the appendixes contain important documents, selections from their song-books, and statistics.

JOHN R. COMMONS.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume LII., October, 1918-June, 1919. (Boston, the Society, 1919, pp. xvi, 356.) Aside from good articles by Professor Emerton on the Periodization of History and by Professor M. M. Bigelow on Becket and the Law, the contents of this volume are, as is usual, contributions to American history, documents illustrative of the same, and memoirs of deceased members. Of the latter the most important was Professor James B. Thayer, of whom there is an excellent portrait. Of the documents, the diary of Daniel Willard in Washington in 1846 and still more H. H. Gratz's account of a pilgrimage to Boston in 1859 are entertaining, while the letter of Edward Gibbon and the documents respecting his blackballing at Garrick's Club are curious. Notable among the papers, aside from those already mentioned, are that of Mr. W. C. Ford on Ezekiel Carré and the French Church in Boston and that of Professor George F. Moore on Judah Monis. The longest contribution (90 pp.) is an elaborate account of Admiral Vernon medals, 1739-1742, by Dr. Malcolm Storer.

The Emancipation of Massachusetts: the Dream and the Reality. By Brooks Adams. Revised and enlarged edition. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1919, pp. 534.) Mr. Brooks Adams's valuable but one-sided work, originally published in 1887, is now brought out in a second

edition. The author declares that he now sees nothing in it, viewed merely as history, to retract or even to modify, but he prefixes to it a preface of 165 pages, the main object of which is to maintain "that the universe . . . is a chaos . . . with which man is doomed eternally and hopelessly to contend", and to illustrate, from history, that and allied theses. Two-thirds of the preface is concerned, for these purposes, with the Biblical history of Moses, concluded to be in general trustworthy and then relied on in detail. The reasonings and assertions of this new preface are original, bold, and acute. The historical student, modestly leaving much of it to the judgment of philosophers, will probably think that historically much rests on sandy foundations, but will find it at least provocative of thought.

Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library, in Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Volume I., part I. (Providence, the Library, pp. vii, 240.) Since the various issues of 1865-1882, no printed catalogue of this wonderful collection has been put forth. Meantime, the library, as is familiar, has been much increased by additional purchases, especially since the death of Mr. John Nicholas Brown, its last owner, in 1900. The trustees under his will, as thereby authorized, gave the library to Brown University, and have greatly enriched it by the use of the generous endowment fund which he left for the purpose. In its special field, that of Americana printed before the nineteenth century, the library has few rivals in the world, and none of these are independent institutions solely devoted to that field. Therefore its catalogue, though in a sense defying review, as a catalogue of thousands of rarities must, is a book to which the attention of students of American history must be attracted. Its plan is to include all the printed books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts in the library, and not solely the Americana for which it primarily exists. The books and pamphlets will be catalogued in chronological order, in, we understand, about eight parts, but the maps and the manuscripts will with a few exceptions be reserved for separate lists. Titles are not to be extensively annotated; the notes which follow them are nearly confined to statements concerning the externals of the volumes, or such data as will distinguish different editions. The catalogue has been prepared by the competent hands of Mr. Worthington C. Ford. The present installment runs through the year 1569. That the catalogue of a library of Americana (or primarily of Americana) should embrace something like a thousand books in merely that portion which precedes the imprints of 1570 is alone a sufficient indication of the library's importance and value. Mr. Ford's work has been done with extraordinary care; in those cases where we have made comparisons, we have found no error in any title. The book has been printed by the Merrymount Press of Boston, and is very handsome.

Cartas de Sucre al Libertador. In two volumes, 1820-1830. [Biblioteca Ayacucho, bajo la Dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona.] (Madrid, Sociedad Española de Librería, 1919, pp. 431; 449.) This is merely a reprint of the initial volume of "Correspondencia de Hombres Notables con el Libertador", which forms part of the *Memorias del General O'Leary* published by the government of Venezuela at Carácas in 1879. It contains a preface (*advertencia*) by O'Leary, a sketch of the life of Sucre up to 1825 written by Bolívar, a series of letters from Sucre to the Liberator covering the decade 1820-1830, a selection of his letters to other personages, almost all of them army officers, and at the close a few of his proclamations. Its value consists in rendering accessible a collection of documents long since out of print and in making them typographically superior to the original.

Nowhere in fact or fiction perhaps is there found a more appealing story of faithfulness and devotion than that told in these letters from Bolívar's great lieutenant to his chief. During the course of a struggle in which jealousy and insubordination, intrigue and slander, ruined many a brotherhood in arms, nought could happen to mar the fidelity of Sucre. Easily the ablest of Spanish-American soldiers of the time, he was the least disposed to admit it. Neither success nor failure could warp his innate modesty on the score of his own achievements or lessen his steadfast admiration for the commander under whom he fought. Even after his brilliant victory at Ayacucho, it is evident from the famous sentence at the opening of his letter from the battlefield that he ascribed no credit to himself. Content, moreover, with the thought of doing his duty in all that might come within the sphere of military operations, he never concealed his unfitness for the tasks of statesmanship. This is shown especially in connection with his career in Bolivia, where politicians and reformers behaved in a manner quite repugnant to the nature of a man like Sucre who had the soldier's sense of directness and candor.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-fourth annual meeting of the Association was held in Cleveland on December 29-31. The presidential address of Mr. William R. Thayer is printed in this number of this journal. The next number will contain the usual article descriptive of the proceedings. The meeting is especially marked by the retirement of Mr. Waldo G. Leland from the office of secretary, which he has held since 1908, and of Professor Evarts B. Greene from that of secretary of the Council, to which he was elected in 1913. Both these gentlemen have filled these offices with remarkable devotion and success, and the Association is greatly indebted to them for the energetic, resourceful, and methodical manner in which they have performed the services appropriate to their positions. Happily as these two officers have co-operated, it has seemed to some that in the general case it would be a better plan to have one secretary of the Association, an assistant secretary, and an editor of publications, the latter two to be paid officials acting under the direction of the secretary, and amendments intended to introduce this system were laid before the Council at its meeting on December 27, and before the Association at its business meeting on December 29.

The financial condition of the Association on December 1 when the treasurer's books were closed for the annual audit was very encouraging. The net receipts during the year amounted to \$10,832.80, the net disbursements to \$8,119.99, giving an excess of receipts over disbursements of \$2,712.81. The cash balance on hand was \$5,184.72. The assets in cash and securities amounted to \$34,922.68, an increase during the year of \$3,207.74. The assets of the *American Historical Review* Fund in cash and securities amounted to \$2,173.80, making the combined assets reach a total of \$37,096.48, an increase during the year of \$5,023.26. The voluntary contributions of one dollar had on December 1 amounted to \$1,432.

Volume II. of the *Annual Report* for 1916 has been distributed to the members of the Association. The *Annual Report* for 1917 will be distributed early in the year, and also, it is hoped, volume I. of the *Annual Report* for 1918. It is probable that the second volume of the latter *Report*, containing the Autobiography of Martin Van Buren, will not be issued until the second half of the year, as the printing appropriation will not suffice for its completion during the present fiscal year of the government.

Good progress is being made in the compilation of the Directory of

the Association which will be included in the *Annual Report* for 1918, volume I. Members who have not yet filled out the questionnaire are urgently requested to do so at once.

PERSONAL

Dr. Jesse Macy, professor emeritus of political science in Grinnell College, and formerly professor of history, died on November 2, aged 77. Famous as a teacher and as a sagacious publicist, he had published two small but meritorious books of history, in 1900 *Political Parties in the United States, 1846-1861*, and during the last year the volume, in the *Chronicles of America* series, which is reviewed on a preceding page.

Col. William R. Livermore, U. S. A., noted as an accomplished engineer officer, and writer of part III. of *The Story of the Civil War*, continuing the late John C. Ropes's work of that name, died on September 27, at the age of 76.

Dr. Alexander Franz, extraordinary professor of history in the University of Frankfurt, died in Berlin on March 1, 1919. He was born in Missouri of German parents. His works include a volume on *Die Kolonisation des Mississippiales bis zum Ausgange der Französischen Herrschaft: eine Kolonialhistorische Studie* (Leipzig, 1906).

Francis J. Haverfield, who since 1907 had been Camden professor of ancient history in the University of Oxford, died on October 1, at the age of fifty-nine. His principal productions had been a variety of valuable monographs on the history of Roman Britain.

Dr. Archer B. Hulbert has been appointed associate professor of American history in Clark University.

Professor W. L. Westermann of the University of Wisconsin has been elected professor of ancient history in Cornell University, as successor of the late Professor Sill. His work at Ithaca will begin next September.

Dr. J. G. Randall has resigned his position as historian of the Shipping Board and has been appointed professor of history in Richmond College.

Professor J. M. Leake, formerly of Allegheny College, is now professor of history and economics in the University of Florida.

Professor E. C. Griffith, lately of Brown University, has been made professor of history, and acting head of the department, in the University of Cincinnati.

Professor Wilson P. Shortridge has been promoted to be head of the department of history in the University of Louisville. Dr. W. F. Raney becomes assistant professor of history in the same institution.

In the University of Wisconsin, Dr. W. T. Root has been advanced to the full rank of professor. Professor A. L. P. Dennis, returning from service with the Division of Military Intelligence, is expected to resume academic work in the second semester.

Professor W. M. Gewehr of Iowa State Teachers College has accepted an invitation to become head of the department of history in Morningside College, Sioux City, Iowa.

GENERAL

Libraries or students possessing the series of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* will be glad to know that the two volumes for 1913 (Jahrgang XXXVI., Berlin, Weidmann, 1916, pp. 326, 401, 270, 316) are now procurable. There are almost no non-German contributors. Most of the chapters under ancient history and "Allgemeines" are filled out, but few of the sections for German history are present, and for other countries only those for France, Spain, Belgium, Sweden, Japan, and a part of Italy.

The contents of the October number of the *Historical Outlook* include: With the First Division: Winter 1917-1918, by Lieut. Richard A. Newhall; the Great Loyalty in America, by Professor William E. Dodd; Italy's Achievement in the Great War, by Dr. P. V. B. Jones; and a Course for the Better Understanding of Latin-America, by Professor Beverley W. Bond. Articles in the November number are: the German Press and the War, by Dr. Victor S. Clark; China since 1914, by Professor Kenneth S. Latourette; Serbia's Work in the Great War, by Allan M. Gale; and Anglo-American Diplomatic Relations during the Last Half-Century, by Dr. Charles H. Levermore. The December number has another of the series of articles by participants in the war, entitled "Over There" in Siberia, by Capt. Laurence B. Packard, and a good paper by Professor A. H. Buffington on British and French Imperialism in North America. Completing with this number the tenth volume of the excellent and most useful magazine which he has edited under the names of the *History Teacher's Magazine* and the *Historical Outlook*, Professor McKinley takes occasion to present a group of very interesting surveys, by various competent hands, of ten years' progress in the teaching of history and other historical activities. Briefly, and without yielding to the temptation to comment on each of the eight surveys, it may be said that they present an encouraging record of advancement.

History for October has an article on the Dawn of the French Renaissance by Mr. Edward Armstrong and one on Nationality by Mr. Ernest Barker. The ecclesiastical policy of Diocletian and that of Constantine are considered by Miss Alice Gardner. Those interested in the progress of historical research in the English universities will obtain a notion of

its course from a section containing lists of theses and publications accepted for higher degrees and of essays by graduates to which university prizes have been awarded, in the case of the universities of Leeds, London, and Manchester. More than one hundred such studies are listed. The lists for Cambridge, Liverpool, and Oxford may be expected in the next number.

We are informed by Father Hippolyte Delehaye, S. J., president of the Society of Bollandists, that he and his associates intend to resume publication of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, interrupted in 1914 before the issue of fasc. 4 of vol. XXXIII., and to maintain it if a sufficient number of subscriptions can be secured. The price of subscription is 20 francs per annum. Subscriptions should be addressed, Société des Bollandistes, 22 Boulevard St. Michel, Brussels.

Ludo Moritz Hartmann has undertaken to edit a *Weltgeschichte in Gemeinverständlicher Darstellung* (Gotha, Perthes), which will extend to at least twelve volumes. The first and the third volume have been published. In the first appear the editor's introduction, a geographical introduction by E. Hanslik, the section on prehistoric times by E. Kohn, and the account of the ancient East by E. G. Klauber. The editor and J. Kromayer have co-operated in writing the third volume, which deals with Roman history.

Further issues in the S. P. C. K. series of *Helps for Students of History* are a pamphlet on *The Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts*, by Dr. Montagu R. James, two lectures on ecclesiastical records, by Rev. Claude Jenkins, librarian of Lambeth Palace, and *An Introduction to the History of American Diplomacy*, by Professor Carl R. Fish of Wisconsin. The same publishing society announces *Christian Inscriptions*, by H. C. V. Nunn, in its series of *Texts for Students*; and volumes on *The Parish Gilds of Medieval England*, by H. F. Westlake, custodian of Westminster Abbey, on *The Cistercians in Yorkshire*, by J. S. Fletcher, and on *The Reformation in Ireland*, by H. Holloway.

The *Census of Fifteenth Century Books owned in America* compiled by a committee of the Bibliographical Society of America and printed in installments by the New York Public Library in its *Bulletin* has now been assembled in a handsome volume of xxiv + 245 pages. The volume, which can be obtained from the library named, is the result of some twenty years' labor on the part of various librarians, bibliographers, and scholars. The data are derived from 169 public and 246 private collections, and report over 13,200 copies of more than 6600 titles. The catalogue is greatly abridged, the title-entries being confined to the fewest words that will identify the book, but is so comprehensive, so careful, and so well arranged (Hain's order is in general followed) that it will be exceedingly helpful to all students that need to use fifteenth-century books, of which it discloses a surprisingly large store in America.

A new work by Professor J. B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress, an Inquiry into its Origin and Growth*, will shortly be published in London by Messrs. Macmillan.

Professor George F. Moore of Harvard University has added to his *History of Religions* a second volume (Scribner) dealing with Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity. The first volume, which treated of the ancient religions other than Judaism, was published in 1913.

Gabriel Hanotaux of the French Academy discusses a considerable range of topics of concern to the historian in an illuminating manner in the volume entitled *L'Histoire et les Historiens, le Théâtre et la Guerre* (Paris, Conard, 1919).

Lord Bryce's *Democracy* (Macmillan) relates especially to democratic achievements in Australia, New Zealand, and France, but also has chapters dealing with the South American republics, Switzerland, the United States, Canada, and the republics of antiquity.

The March number of the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* is devoted entirely to the League of Nations, comprising three articles, namely: European Precedents for a League of Nations, by Clarence Perkins, American Precedents for a League of Nations, by Carl Wittke, the Monroe Doctrine and the League of Nations, by Homer C. Hockett, together with the text of the covenant as announced April 27, 1919, with notes pointing out changes made in the covenant as originally drafted.

The Grotius Society has published a monograph on *International Rivers*, by a young Belgian scholar, Mr. George Kaeckenbeeck.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace expects to publish soon a comprehensive study of the theory and history of plebiscites, entitled *The Doctrine of National Self Determination*, by Miss Sarah Wambaugh of Radcliffe College.

Industry and Trade, by Professors A. L. Bishop and A. G. Keller (Boston, Ginn, pp. 426, with many excellent illustrations), is a high-school or college text-book which presents an intelligent descriptive account of American industries and American trade and commerce taken up in a historical way though not in a historical order of arrangement.

A first volume of a history of the development of arms is entitled *A Record of European Arms and Armour* (London, Bell), by Sir Guy Laking. The work will occupy five volumes.

The July and October numbers of the *Catholic Historical Review* are combined in one issue. The main contents are four articles of exceptional interest: one by Professor Charles E. Chapman on Father Fermin de Lasuén; one by Father V. F. O'Daniel on Cuthbert Fenwick of early Maryland; one by Professor Laurence M. Larson on the Church in North America (Greenland) in the Middle Ages; and one by Father

John Rothensteiner on Father Paul de Saint Pierre (Heiligenstein?), successively pastor of Cahokia, Ste. Genevieve, and Iberville, 1785-1826, the first German-American priest of the West. Among the documents is a journal of Bishop Purcell, 1833-1836.

The American Jewish Historical Society will hold its twenty-eighth annual meeting in New York on February 22 and 23.

The Journal of Negro History in its October number presents brief articles by E. Ethelred Brown on Labor Conditions in Jamaica prior to 1917, and by M. N. Work on the Life of Charles B. Ray. A longer paper on the Slave in Upper Canada, by Justice W. R. Riddell of the supreme court of Ontario, is reprinted with documents from the *Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada for last May. The editor prints some fifty more pages of letters of negro migrants, 1916-1918, very instructive as to recent conditions in all parts of the South.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge, tells the story of seventeen interesting missions to the East, in quest of archaeological objects and manuscripts, in two volumes of *Travels in Egypt and Mesopotamia in Search of Antiquities, 1886-1913* (London, Murray).

Ludwig Borchardt in *Die Annalen und die Zeitliche Festlegung des Alten Reiches der Aegyptischen Geschichte* (Berlin, Behrend, 1917, pp. 64, plates 8, folio) edits the Palermo stone and four supplementary fragments of inscriptions, recently discovered, all dating from the fifth dynasty. On the basis of these, in part, he fixes a new date for the Sirius era at 4236 B. C., and dates the beginning of the dynasties as follows: first, 4186; third, 3642; sixth, 2920; twelfth, 1996-1993. Marie Mogensen has edited the *Stèles Égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm* (Copenhagen, Høst, 1919).

Professor Albert T. Clay of Yale University has published a work of high importance on *The Empire of the Amorites* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919, pp. 192; reviewed by A. T. Olmstead, *American Journal of Theology*, October, 1919, pp. 525-527).

E. Cavaignac has completed his *Histoire de l'Antiquité* by the publication of the second part of the first volume entitled *Javan: l'Orient et les Grecs* (Paris, Boccard, 1919), which contains the critical discussions and various materials on which were based the conclusions set forth in the narrative in the first part of the volume. An index to all three volumes of the work will be issued shortly in a supplementary volume.

An important study of *Die Liturgie: Studien zur Ptolemäischen und Kaiserlichen Verwaltung Aegyptens* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1917, pp. viii, 452) is by Friedrich Oertel.

The *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, published jointly by the university presses of Harvard and Yale, contain papers by members of the School of Fine Arts and of the School of Classical Studies. Of papers of an historical character, vol. I. contains one on the Reorganization of the Roman Priesthoods at the Beginning of the Republic, by the late Dr. Jesse B. Carter, and one on the Military Indebtedness of Early Rome to Etruria, by Eugene S. McCartney. Vol. II. has a paper by Miss Lucy G. Roberts on the Gallic Fire and Roman Archives.

Miss Elsie S. Jenison prints a Columbia University dissertation on *The History of the Province of Sicily* (Boston, the Colonial Press, 1919, pp. 125) in which, without neglecting political events, she makes it her main endeavor to show the economic, social, and cultural history of the province. Despite the meagreness of the materials at many points, she has dealt competently with her theme and made a useful contribution to knowledge.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. F. Weidner, *Studien zur Assyrisch-Babylonischen Chronologie und Geschichte auf Grund Neuer Funde* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, XX. 4); F. M. T. Böhl, *Die Könige von Genesis 14.* (Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, XXXVI. 2); C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Zur Herkunft des Alphabets*, I. (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, LXXIII. 1); J. P. Peters, *The Home of the Semites* (Journal of the American Oriental Society, October); U. Kahrstedt, *Die Spartanische Agrarwirtschaft* (Hermes, LIV. 3); M. Streck, *Seleucia und Ktesiphon* (Der Alte Orient, XVI. 3); G. Plaumann, *Der Idioslogos, Untersuchungen zur Finanzverwaltung Aegyptens in Hellenistischer und Römischer Zeit* (Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918, XVII.); V. Costanzi, *Osservazioni sulla Terza Guerra Sannitica* (Rivista di Filologia, XLVII. 2); G. Ferrero, *La Ruine de la Civilisation Antique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); M. Piroutet, *Contribution à l'Étude des Celtes*, I. (L'Anthropologie, XXIX. 3).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

A new scheme of chronology of the life of St. Paul is presented by D. Plooij in *De Chronologie van het Leven van Paulus* (Leiden, Brill, 1918, pp. viii, 195; reviewed by M. Jones in *Expositor*, August). *Paulus und die Mystik seiner Zeit* (Leipzig, Deichert, 1918, pp. iii, 123) is the subject of a study by K. Deissner.

P. Batiffol has issued a collection of *Études de Liturgie et d'Archéologie Chrétienne* (Paris, Gabalda, 1919, pp. vi, 330).

As a Princeton doctoral dissertation Dr. Herbert T. Weiskotten publishes *Sancti Augustini Vita, scripta a Possidio Episcopo* (Princeton University Press, 1919, pp. 174), embracing an introduction, a revised text based on the collation of many manuscripts, a translation, and adequate notes.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A brief account of *The Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Past and Present* (London, Skeffington, 1919, pp. 160) has been written by Rose G. Kingsley.

G. Golubovich covers the period 1300-1332 in the third volume of his *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franceseano* (Quaracchi, 1919, pp. viii, 496). *Éléments d'une Bibliographie Française de la Syrie* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. xx, 528) is a somewhat similar undertaking in the same field by Paul Masson.

Dr. Theodore O. Wedel's *The Medieval Attitude toward Astrology, particularly in England* (Yale University Press, pp. 189), is a valuable contribution to the history of medieval thought and of the conflict between science and theology.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Krammer, *Zum Textproblem der Lex Salica: eine Erwiderung* (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XLI, 1); O. von Gierke et al., *Gutachtliche Aeusserungen über Krammers Ausgabe der Lex Salica* (*ibid.*, XLI, 2); E. Heymann, *Zur Textkritik der Lex Salica* (*ibid.*); B. W. Wells, *Alcuin the Teacher* (Constructive Quarterly, September); J. B. Chabot, *Édesse pendant la Première Croisade* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, November, 1918).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: *Some New Sources of European History* [diplomatic and political "revelations", on 1887-1914] (New Europe, November 20, 27, December 4).

In *Der Gedanke der Internationalen Organisation in seiner Entwicklung, 1300-1800* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1917, pp. xi, 397), Dr. Jacob ter Meulen (one of the editors of *Grotius*) undertakes two important surveys, one of the development of the idea of internationalism, the other of the individual plans of international organization proposed in the centuries indicated.

There has been issued as one of the publications of the Spanish school at Rome the first volume of *La Liga de Lepanto entre España, Venecia, y la Santa Sede, 1570-1573; Ensayo Histórico á Base de Documentos Diplomáticos* (Madrid, Imp. de la Revista de Archivos, 1918, pp. viii, 396), by L. Serrano.

L. Engerand brings out many interesting facts in *L'Opinion Publique dans les Provinces Rhénanes et en Belgique, 1789-1815* (Paris, Bossard, 1919).

Sir Plunket Barton, Bart., whose *Bernadotte: the First Phase*, was published in 1914, now brings out a continuation, *Bernadotte and Napoleon, 1790-1810* (London, Murray).

The second volume of E. Daudet's *La France et l'Allemagne après le Congrès de Berlin* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. 292) deals with the mission of the Baron de Courcel. *L'Alliance Franco-Russe, les Origines et les Résultats* (Paris, Alcan, 1919) is the subject of an exposition by H. Welschinger.

The standing of its author, the Austrian professor Heinrich Friedjung, will cause the highest expectations to be entertained respecting his latest book, *Das Zeitalter des Imperialismus, 1884-1914* (Berlin, Neufeld and Henius, 2 vols.), treating of the political preliminaries of the war and the general history of the world in the generation preceding it. Vol. I. has appeared.

In the archives of Brussels the German authorities found a mass of manifolded circulars in which, through the eighteen years preceding the war, the Belgian foreign office kept its diplomatic representatives informed, by extracts from each other's despatches, of whatever was important in relation to the general European situation. The present German government has published in five volumes, *Zur Europäischen Politik, 1897-1914* (Berlin, Hobbing, 1919), edited by Bernard Schwertfeger, the French text of such of these as illustrate Germany's position in the years named. "Objektivität" is of course claimed, though the printing in black-faced type of the sentences especially favorable to Germany produces a disagreeable effect; but the material is, from its nature and origin, of much importance to the study of recent diplomatic history.

In September last the Danish government issued a White Book containing the documents relating to the discussions of 1906-1907 between Captain Luetken, representing the Danish premier and minister of defense, and General von Moltke, chief of the German General Staff, regarding the position of Denmark (parallel to that of Belgium) in the event of war; also conversations between King Christian IX. and the German emperor in 1903, and between King Edward VII. and Count Frijs in 1908.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Ehses, *Briefe vom Trienter Konzil unter Pius IV.* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVII. 1); K. Colegrove, *Diplomatic Procedure preliminary to the Congress of Westphalia* (American Journal of International Law, July); Admiral Sir Reginald Custance, R. N., *The Freedom of the Seas* (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, November); W. R. Shepherd, *The Expansion of Europe*, III. (Political Science Quarterly, September); Alice Galimberti, *Giuseppe Mazzini nel Pensiero Inglese* (Nuova Antologia, July 1); H. Prentout, *La Politique Anglaise et la Politique Française dans la Question des Duchés* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, September); P. Darmstaedter, *Die Vorgeschichte der Russisch-Französischen Allianz, 1891-1894* (Preussische Jahrbücher, June); Viscount Haldane, *Some Recol-*

lections: *Conversations with Kaiser and Chancellor* (Atlantic Monthly, October); O. Kende, *Die Donaustrasse* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, July, 1917).

THE GREAT WAR

The Royal Library of Belgium is endeavoring to make a collection of books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, cartoons, etc., relating to the war, and it is especially desirous of gathering as much American material as possible. Inasmuch as the library was unable during the German occupation to make any such collections, it is hoped that Americans who have material that may be of interest will be willing to offer it for permanent preservation in Brussels. Such material should be sent to the Hon. Louis de Sadeleer, minister of state of Belgium, in care of the Belgian Consulate, 25 Madison Avenue, New York.

Messrs. Macmillan announce the first volume of the British *Official History of the War*, covering the military operations in the western theatre down to December, 1914, by Hon. John W. Fortescue.

An important addition just made to the Carnegie Endowment's "Preliminary Economic Studies of the War", is a volume of 338 pages by Professor Ernest L. Bogart on *Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War*.

The Macmillan Company has brought out *The Story of the Great War*, a small, compact book by Professor Roland G. Usher.

The Naval War College has issued a volume of *International Law Documents: Neutrality; Breaking of Diplomatic Relations; War; with Notes; 1917* (Washington, Government Printing Office). The collection embraces many principal documents relating to the Great War. They are arranged chronologically within an alphabetical arrangement of states. Documents issued in foreign languages are given in an English translation.

Professor Charles Seymour's *The Diplomatic Background of the War* (Yale University Press, 1916) has been published in a French translation, *Les Antécédents de la Guerre* (Paris, Sirey).

The Outbreak of the War of 1914-18 (H. M. Stationery Office, 1919, pp. 146) is an authoritative official narrative, based mainly on British official documents, and put together by the competent hands of Professor C. W. C. Oman.

Part 1, June 28-July 23, 1914 (pp. 139), of the Austrian Red Book, *Diplomatische Aktenstücke zur Vorgeschichte des Krieges*, mentioned in our last number, has now arrived, and proves to be of great importance and interest, containing many new and important documents which reveal with startling clearness the personal responsibility of Count Berchtold for the Austrian declaration of war against Serbia, making his

deception of the Emperor Francis Joseph appear far more daring and cynical than Bismarck's use of the Ems despatch. The documents also throw light on the question of the alleged Potsdam conference of July 5, 1914. Still further revelations are to be found in *Das Wiener Kabinet und die Entstehung des Krieges* (Wien, Siedel, 1919), by R. Gooss, which fixes the date of Kaiser Wilhelm's decision as July 5, but seems to indicate that there was no conference on that date. Especial attention is given to the Balkan situation on the eve of the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, indicating that a reorganization of the Balkan league was defeated through intrigues with Rumania. Additional information on the fateful twelve days is also presented.

The minister Dr. Karl Helfferich's *Die Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges*, mentioned heretofore in these pages, has now been followed by a continuation entitled *Vom Kriegausbruch bis zum uneingeschränkten U-Bootskrieg* (Berlin, Ullstein). Other recent books contributory to political understanding of the war and its origins are Chancellor von Hertling's *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (3 vols.), H. von Eckardstein's *Diplomatische Enthüllungen zum Ursprung des Weltkrieges: Bruchstücke aus meinen Politischen Denkwürdigkeiten*, and Eduard Bernstein's *Erinnerungen eines Sozialisten*, I., *Aus den Jahren meines Exils*. Of a more military character, and casting some light on general staff operations before the war, are the *Erlebnisse und Betrachtungen aus der Zeit des Weltkrieges* of General von Stein, quartermaster-general and minister of war.

A volume of despatches of Field-Marshal the Earl Haig, with a number of military maps, has been edited by Lieut.-Col. J. H. Boraston. Messrs. E. P. Dutton and Company are the American publishers.

General von Falkenhayn's *General Headquarters, 1914-1916, and its Critical Decisions*, is on the point of publication in English translation by Messrs. Hutchinson of London. They also have in the press *Australian Victories in France, 1918*, illustrated, by Sir John Monash, chief commander of the Australian troops.

Der Grosse Krieg in Einzeldarstellungen herausgegeben im Auftrage des Generalstabes des Feldheeres (Oldenburg, Stalling) is an extensive series of monographs on the various battles and campaigns of the war, one of which, *Lüttich-Namur*, was mentioned in our last issue.

Sir A. Conan Doyle's fifth volume, *The British Campaigns in France and Flanders, January to July, 1918*, was published in September (Hodder and Stoughton). Mr. Edmund Daines's two volumes on *The British Campaigns in the Nearer East* and his volume entitled *The British Campaigns in Africa and the Pacific* (*id.*) are intended to form the complement to that series.

Die Marneschlacht, 1914 (Leipzig, Lippold) is an authoritative dis-

cussion of the battle and the German plans by General Baumgarten-Crusius, commander of the German Third Army. Maj. Eugen Bircher of the Swiss General Staff has made a study of *Die Schlacht an der Marne* (Bern, Haupt, 1918, pp. 287); Lieutenant-Colonel Rousset, of *La Bataille de l'Aisne* (Brussels, Van Oest, 1919); and J. de Pierrefeu, of *La Deuxième Bataille de la Marne* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1919). General Malleterre's fifth and final volume of *Études et Impressions de Guerre* is devoted to *La Bataille de Libération et la Victoire, 1918* (Paris, Tallandier, 1919, pp. 358).

Mr. Sisley Huddleston was the Paris correspondent of the *Westminster Gazette* during the peace conference. His *Peace-making at Paris* (London, Fisher Unwin) is produced by refashioning the material of his daily articles, and can of course make but a partial and in a sense ephemeral contribution to history, but it is an early and good book of its kind.

Le Traité de Paix (Paris, Fasquelle, 1919, pp. 256), by Louis Barthou, is his report as chairman of committee to the Chamber of Deputies. Other French accounts and discussions of the treaty are *Le Pacte de 1919 et la Société des Nations* (*ibid.*) by Léon Bourgeois; *Le Traité de Versailles du 28 Juin 1919, l'Allemagne et l'Europe* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. 368) by G. Hanotaux; and the anonymous *Le Traité de Versailles* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919).

F. Maurette has prepared a useful *Atlas de la Paix, 1914-1919: la France, l'Europe, le Monde avant et après la Guerre* (Paris, Hachette, 1919, 38 maps).

Lieut.-Col. H. P. Picot, who was British officer in charge of interned troops in Switzerland, writes of their life and organization and of the work of the Swiss government on behalf of prisoners of war in *With the British Interned in Switzerland* (London, Arnold).

The personnel of the successive French ministries during the war is depicted by M. Laurent in *L'Organisation de la Victoire: Nos Gouvernements de Guerre, Viviani, Briand, Ribot, Painlevé, Clemenceau* (Paris, Alcan, 1919). Not only military but also social and political matters are subjected to consideration by Lieutenant-Colonel de Thomasson in *Le Revers de 1914 et ses Causes* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919). In *Nivelle et Painlevé* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1919, pp. 250) by Mermeix will be found new materials of the highest significance relating to the political situation and the military misfortunes of 1917. Important documents on the subject are published by Commandant Civrieux in *L'Offensive Franco-Britannique de 1917 et le Commandement du Général Nivelle* (Brussels, Van Oest, 1919). The former premier Paul Painlevé presents his point of view in *La Vérité sur l'Offensive du 16 Avril 1917* (Paris, Renaissance, 1919, pp. 112), and exposes the circumstances surrounding the appointments of Foch and Pétain to the chief commands.

Le Rôle de la Cavalerie Française à l'Aile Gauche de la Première Bataille de la Marne (Paris, Perrin, 1919) is by one of the actors, J. Héthay. General Puypéroux has given an account of *La 3^e Division Coloniale dans la Grande Guerre, 1914-1919* (Paris, Fournier, 1919, pp. 232). A. Séché has had unusual advantages in the employment of official reports and other documents in preparing *Les Noirs* (Paris, Payot, 1919), an account of the black troops in the French army, during the Great War.

Captain Dutil has furnished an account of *Les Chars d'Assaut: leur Création et leur Rôle pendant la Guerre, 1915-1918* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. 296). The same theme is dealt with by P. Lestringuet in *Sous l'Armure: les Chars d'Assaut Français pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Renaissance du Livre, 1919).

A brief survey of the services of *La Marine Française pendant la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Larousse, 1919, pp. 224) has been prepared by G. Clerc-Rampal. The lively narrative of the personal experiences of F. Darde bears the title, *Souvenirs de Chasse aux Sous-marins Allemands, les Patrouilles du Contre-torpilleur "Fanion"* (Paris, Perrin, 1919). Among other contributions to the naval history of the war the following are of special interest: *La Bataille Navale du Jutland, 31 Mai 1916* (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 192), by Captain de Parseval; *Quatre Années de Guerre Sous-marine* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. xvi, 336), by Commandant E. Vedel; and *La Guerre Sous-marine et l'Espagne* (Lyons, Lardanchet, 1919), by F. Vézinet.

The Secret Corps: a Tale of Intelligence on all Fronts (London, Murray), by Captain Ferdinand Tuohy, is an authentic and detailed record of intelligence work in many countries during the late war.

Dr. Lucien-Graux has added three volumes to the two earlier ones on *Les Fausses Nouvelles de la Grande Guerre* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1919), thus completing the work to the close of hostilities.

The Pipes of War, by Col. Sir Bruce Seton, Bart., and John Grant, announced for publication by Messrs. MacLehose, Jackson, and Company of Glasgow, is a record of the achievements of pipers of Scottish and overseas regiments during the Great War, to which additional interest is lent by the fact that some five hundred pipers were killed, and at least six hundred others wounded, while endeavoring to carry on the ancient traditions of their service.

L'Aisne pendant la Grande Guerre (Paris, Alcan, 1919) by Gabriel Hanotaux is the fourth volume of a series entitled *La France Dévastée*, in which there are also volumes on Lorraine by M. Barrès and on Alsace by Abbé E. Wetterlé. General Percin's *Lille* (Paris, Grasset, 1919) is devoted mainly to a careful presentation of the situation and events in August, 1914, with a purpose of justification. J. Hélot, presi-

dent of the chamber of commerce of Cambrai, has written *Cinquante Mois sous le Joug Allemand, l'Occupation Allemande à Cambrai et dans le Cambrésis* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. ii, 505), while the archbishop of Cambrai, Mgr. Chollet, plans no less than six volumes on the subject with special reference to his own acts and attitude, under the title *Pro Aris et Focis*, of which *Mon Copie de Lettres* (Cambrai, Masson, 1919) has appeared. The whole question of the relations of the Church in France during the war is surveyed by F. Rouvier in *En Ligne, l'Eglise de France pendant la Grande Guerre, 1914-1918* (Paris, Perrin, 1919).

Arthur Toupine, *La Guerre et la Vérité*, traduit par O. W. Milosz (Paris, Editions de l'Affranchi, 201 Boulevard Périère, 1919, pp. 221), is a partial translation of *Lateju Tauta Karâ* (1917). The author, a prominent Lettish patriot and littérateur, was an officer in the Lettish Volunteers of the old Russian army. His description of the exploits of these units during the years 1915-1917 is a noteworthy contribution to the history of the war on the eastern front, and to the history of the Lettish national movement.

Eugen, Graf Ledebur-Wicheln, has published the official documents relating to the *Friedensvertrag mit Rumänien* (Vienna, Manz, 1918, pp. 124) together with an account of the Austrian occupation of Rumania, of the negotiations, and of Rumania's economic outlook.

Deutschland und Armenien, 1914-1918: Sammlung Diplomatischer Aktenstücke (Berlin, 1919) is a collection of 444 documents permitted by the present German government to be published, and declared to contain all the necessary material in the archives of the Berlin foreign office and the German embassy in Constantinople for understanding the German course with respect to the conduct of the Turks towards the Armenians.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Madelin, *La Bataille de France*, I.-V. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 15-October 15); C. Photiades, *La Victoire des Alliés en Orient*, I. (*Revue de Paris*, September 15); Rear-Adm. W. S. Sims, *The Victory at Sea*, I.-IV. (*World's Work*, September, October, November, December); Lieut.-Commander H. H. Frost, U. S. N., *A Description of the Battle of Jutland*, I. (*U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, November); H. F. Wright, *The Pope and the War* (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April); A. H. Snow, *The Shantung Question and Spheres of Influence* (*Nation*, September 20).

(See also pp. 357-358)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The *Third Report* of the Royal Commission on Public Records, completed in draft as far back as June, 1916, but delayed by the war, has now appeared and will no doubt before long be received in America. We understand that it completes the report of this commission, whose

work marks, or if properly followed up by action should mark, an era in the history of British archives.

Messrs. Bell are to publish a volume by Dr. Montagu Sharpe, entitled *Middlesex in British, Roman, and Saxon Times*.

In the October number of the *English Historical Review* (pp. 505-579) Dr. William Farrer's Outline Itinerary of King Henry I. is completed.

A valuable contribution to the materials for parliamentary history is made by Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P., in *Collections for a History of Staffordshire: Staffordshire Parliamentary History*, vol. I., 1213-1603 (Harrison and Sons). Tendencies in the history of elections are illustrated by a study of the "knights and burgesses sent up from Staffordshire . . . their positions and associations, their patrons, and how far they had to fight for their seats".

The Red Register of King's Lynn, vol. I. (King's Lynn, Thew and Son, pp. xxiii, 284), edited by Mr. Holcombe Ingleby, M.P. for the borough, is mainly a record of transactions of the corporation in the fourteenth century, but the minutes and ordinances of the mayor and commonalty have been reserved for a second volume.

An account of *Sir Thomas Exmewe*, Lord Mayor of London in 1517, by Rev. L. H. O. Pryce, is published by the Cambrian Archaeological Society.

The Making of Modern Wales: Studies in the Tudor Settlement of Wales (Macmillan, pp. viii, 336), by W. Llewellyn Williams, recorder of Cardiff, supplements previous accounts of several important aspects of Welsh history, notably the decay of Catholicism, and the King's Court of Great Sessions.

A Century of Persecution under Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns, from Contemporary Records at Loseley, is the title of a volume by Rev. St. George Kieran Hyland, presenting hitherto unpublished material on this subject, announced by the Broadway House, London.

Messrs. Longmans announce a first volume on *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* by Rev. J. Hungerford Pollen, S. J., which deals with the period 1558-1580.

The Oxford University Press publishes for the British Academy the ninth of the Academy's annual Shakespeare lectures, delivered last July by Sir A. W. Ward, on *Shakespeare and the Makers of Virginia* (pp. 47), in which he discusses with much learning the field and the conclusions of Professor Gayley's recent book.

The Riddle of the Ruthvens and Other Studies (Edinburgh, W. Green and Son, pp. xiii, 544) is a collection of essays by William

Roughhead, reprinted from the *Scottish Historical Review* and the *Juridical Review*.

Seventeenth-Century Life in the Country Parish, with special reference to Local Government (Cambridge University Press) is a careful study based mainly on contemporary records of the North Riding of Yorkshire, by Eleanor Trotter.

Miss Myra Reynolds, a professor in the University of Chicago, in *The Learned Lady in England, 1650-1760* (Houghton Mifflin) illustrates skillfully and with great knowledge an interesting episode in the history of English literature, culture, and social life.

Dr. E. M. Dicey and Professor R. S. Rait have collaborated on a book entitled *Thoughts on the Act of Union between England and Scotland* (Macmillan).

The Skilled Labourer, 1760-1832 (Longmans), by J. L. and Barbara Hammond, is a supplementary volume to *The Town Labourer*, by these authors. The miners of Durham and Northumberland and the textile workers are dealt with.

A History of Trade Unionism by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, announced by Messrs. Longmans, is a new edition of their earlier work, rewritten, with added chapters on trade-unions since 1890.

Mr. G. M. Trevelyan has written a biography of *Earl Grey of the Reform Bill*, which Messrs. Longmans have in press.

Among the important British biographical works published during the autumn, the chief place perhaps belongs to *The Life of Lord Kitchener of Khartoum*, by his private secretary, Sir George Arthur (Macmillan, 3 vols.); *Patron and Place Hunter, a Study of George Bubb Dodington, Lord Melcombe*, by Lloyd Sanders (John Lane); *The Life of William Booth, the Founder of the Salvation Army*, by Harold Begbie (Macmillan, 2 vols.); *A History of John Redmond's Last Years*, by Mr. Stephen Gwynn (Edward Arnold); and *The Correspondence of the Hon. Emily Eden, 1814-1863* (Macmillan).

How the War Came (London, Methuen) by Earl Loreburn (formerly lord chancellor, and before that Sir Robert Reid) is in substance an able and severe arraignment of the foreign policy pursued by Sir Edward Grey from 1905 to 1914.

The *Scottish Historical Review* for October has for its chief contents an article on the Orkney Townships by Mr. J. S. Clouston; also one by Messrs. R. W. Chambers and W. W. Seton on Bellenden's translation of the history of Scotland by Hector Boece.

Volume I. of *A History of Glasgow* by Robert Renwick, covering the pre-Reformation period, is announced for publication by MacLehose, Jackson, and Company.

The Book of the Lewis (Paisley, Gardner), by W. C. Mackenzie, is not a systematic narrative but is made up of chapters on the antiquities, the civilization, and the history of the Outer Hebrides.

Phases of Irish History by Eoin [i. e., John] MacNeill, professor of ancient Irish history in the National University of Ireland (Dublin, M. H. Gill and Son, pp. 364), is a body of twelve lectures on aspects of the period before 1400.

Mr. George O'Brien, working backward from the period treated in his previous volume, has now brought out a book on *The Economic History of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century* (London and Dublin, Maunsel, pp. viii, 283).

The *Victorian Historical Magazine* for July, 1919, contains articles by Thomas O'Callaghan on the Origin of Postal Services in New South Wales, and the Extension of the System to Port Phillip; by A. Rogers, on the Development of Railway Signalling in Victoria; and, of especial interest to American readers, by Rev. C. Stuart Ross, on "Two American Types that left their Stamp on Victorian History"—George Francis Train of Boston, who was in Melbourne in 1853-1856; and John S. Cheney of Manchester, Conn., who was in Victoria from 1853 to 1864.

British government publications: *Annals of Ulster*, vol. IV., A. D. 431-1131, 1155-1541; *Dardanellès Commission Final Report*, pt. II., *Conduct of Operations*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Carl Stephenson, *The Aids of English Boroughs* (*English Historical Review*, October); W. Senior, *Admiralty Matters in the Fifteenth Century* (*Law Quarterly Review*, October); W. Muss-Arnolt, *Puritan Efforts and Struggles, 1550-1603, a Bio-bibliographical Study*, II. (*American Journal of Theology*, October); J. Hashagen, *Zur Ideengeschichte des Englischen Imperialismus* (*Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, August, 1917).

FRANCE

By a decree signed by President Poincaré, there has been created in the Ministry of Marine in Paris a "Service Historique" attached to the General Staff. Its offices are in the annex of the ministry, 3 Avenue Octave-Gréard. All the books, records, archives, manuscripts, maps, and charts possessed by the ministry, relating to the history of the French navy down to and including the Great War, have been concentrated there. The personnel of the Service Historique includes three naval officers and two historians, the officer in charge being Capitaine-de-frégate R. Castex. Their duty is to make the best possible use, by scientific historical methods, of all this wealth of material. Closely allied with this historical section is the *Revue Maritime*, official journal of the French navy, which will resume publication this month, under the editorship of Capitaine-de-corvette Millot.

An extended work, which will be completed in five volumes, dealing with *Les Étrangers en France sous l'Ancien Régime, Histoire de la Formation de la Population Française*, is being published by J. Mathorez. Various chapters have appeared from time to time in historical reviews. The first volume (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 400) deals with the causes of alien migrations and filtrations into France and also contains the sections relating to the Oriental and other extra-European elements which have entered into the French population.

Professor Victor Delbos of the Sorbonne has published an excellent historical survey of *La Philosophie Française* (Paris, Plon, 1919).

C. Enlart has issued a revised edition of the first volume of his *Manuel d'Archéologie Française depuis les Temps Mérovingiens jusqu'à la Renaissance* (Paris, Picard, 1919, pp. cviii, 458) dealing with ecclesiastical architecture in the Merovingian, Carolingian, and Romanesque periods.

A life of *Saint Sigisbert, Roi d'Austrasie, 630-656* (Paris, Gabalda, 1919) has been written by Abbé Guise for the series *Les Saints*.

La Communauté des Maîtres Chirurgiens de Poitiers, 1410-1792 (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 265) is the subject of a monograph by Pierre Rambaud.

Baron Henry de Woelmont has prepared a convenient manual of *Les Marquis Français, Nomenclature de toutes les Familles Françaises subsistantes ou éteintes depuis l'Année 1864, portant le Titre de Marquis, avec l'Indication de l'Origine de leurs Titres* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. v, 175). There are listed 220 marquisates legally conferred in France between 1505 and 1910; fifty titles conferred by foreign sovereigns on families now domiciled in France; and seventy-one courtesy titles. In addition to these 341 legitimate titles, the list includes 646 titles which have been usurped.

On his death in 1917, Dr. Louis Beurnier, the last scion of an old family of Montbéliard, bequeathed most of his property to his native city. The mass of family papers is rich in interest for local history during the last two centuries, and occasionally there are documents of larger significance. Of *Le Fonds Beurnier aux Archives Communales de Montbéliard*, the municipal archivist, J. Mauveaux, has prepared an *Inventaire Sommaire* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 78).

A new biography of *Le Roi de la Vendée, François Athanase Charette, Lieutenant-Général de l'Armée Royale, 1763-1796* (Paris, Perrin, 1919), comes from the pen of Joseph Robin.

H. Welschinger has written for the series *Les Saints* an account of *Les Martyrs de Septembre* (Paris, Gabalda, 1919). An extended account of *L'Église Constitutionnelle et la Persécution Religieuse dans le Départe-*

ment de la Drôme pendant la Révolution, 1790-1801 (Valence, Céas, 1919, pp. 452) is the work of Canon J. Chevalier. The latest contribution of E. Sevestre to the religious history of the Revolution is *L'Enquête Ecclésiastique sur le Clergé de Normandie et du Maine de l'An IX. à l'An XIII.* (Paris, Picard, 1918, pp. 232), of which the part now printed deals with the province of Maine.

Frédéric Masson has at last completed his voluminous study of *Napoléon et sa Famille* (vols. XII. and XIII., Paris, Ollendorff, 1919) with a volume on the careers of the several members of the family after Waterloo and another on the Saint Helena episode. He has also issued the missing volume of the series of four relating to Josephine, entitled *Madame Bonaparte, 1796-1804* (*ibid.*).

The Société de l'Histoire des Colonies Françaises expects to issue during the present winter its volume of *Instructions aux Gouverneurs du Sénégal*, to be followed before long by a volume of documents on the relations of France with Indo-China during the reign of Louis Philippe, edited by Professor Henri Cordier.

Professor J. Bonnetas of the law faculty of the University of Bordeaux has made a contribution of no small value in *La Notion de Droit en France au Dix-neuvième Siècle* (Paris, Boccard, 1919).

Agadir, ma Politique Extérieure (Paris, Michel, 1919, pp. 256) by Joseph Caillaux is a somewhat prosaic narrative rather than the sensational account that might have been anticipated.

The second volume of J. Basdevant's *Traité et Conventions en l'igueur entre la France et les Puissances Étrangères* (Paris, Rousseau, 1919, pp. 830) contains the treaties with Spain and Italy. Materials relating to the years 1905-1906 are contained in the twenty-third volume of J. de Clercq's *Recueil des Traité de la France* (Paris, Pedone, 1919).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Jassemijn, *Le Contrôle Financier en Bourgogne sous les Derniers Ducs Capétiens, 1274-1353* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January, 1918); J. Tardif, *Le Procès d'Enguerran de Coucy, I.* (*ibid.*); P. Boissonnade, *Les Finances de Charles IV. le Bel* (Journal des Savants, May); J. Viard, *La Cour et ses "Parlements" au XIV^e Siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January, 1918); L. Cahen, *La Population Parisienne au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue de Paris, September 1); A. Chuquet, *Les Mémoires de Dumouriez* (Compte Rendu de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, August); F. Masson, *Les Conspirations du Général Malet, I.-III.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1, 15, October 15); L. Pingaud, *Le Dernier Roi de France [Comte de Chambord]* (Revue de Paris, August 1); P. Adam, *Un Grand Chef: le Général Mangin* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 18).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

Most of vol. XLII., fasc. 1-2, (in fact, 229 pp.) of the *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* is occupied by a monograph on the schism of the antipope Laurentius (498-506), by Signor Roberto Cessi. The society has in preparation a general index to vols. XXVI.-XL. of this series. It has also begun the printing of an important volume by the late Marchese Alessandro Ferrajoli on *La Congiura dei Cardinali contro il Pontefice Leone X.*, and the first volume of the *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae*, ed. Silvagni.

The Società Siciliana di Storia Patria has printed at Palermo as vol. XXIII. of its series of *Documenti* the first volume of a *Codice Diplomatico dei Re Aragonesi di Sicilia, 1282-1355*, edited by Cav. Dr. Giuseppe La Mantia. The first volume, the fruit of many years of research in Italian archives and those of Barcelona, contains the documents for 1282-1290 (Pedro I. and Jayme I.) with an elaborate introduction of more than 200 pages.

The learning and literary qualities which have always marked the work of Dr. Thomas F. Crane, formerly professor and dean in Cornell University, will cause students to look forward with much expectation to the reading of his *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century, and their Influence on the Literature of Europe*, shortly to be published by the Yale University Press.

La Madre di Giuseppe Mazzini: Carteggio Inedito del 1834-1839 (Turin, Bocca) is a volume of selected letters of Maria Mazzini found in the archives at Turin by Signor Alessandro Luzio and edited by him, together with unpublished letters of Mazzini to members of his family and to other friends. They afford an intimate acquaintance with the household at Genoa to which Mazzini writes from Switzerland and from London, especially the mother with whom his relations were so closely sympathetic.

Louis Hauteceœur, formerly a member of the École Française de Rome, traces with intelligence the political history of Italy in war-time in *L'Italie sous le Ministère Orlando* (Paris, Bossard).

The late Professor Eduardo de Hinojosa had selected and edited a volume of *Documentos para la Historia de las Instituciones de León y de Castilla, Siglos X.-XIII.*, which is now published (Madrid, Fortanet, 1919, pp. 217).

J. Deloffre has edited and published in the issues of the *Revue Hispanique* for October and December, 1918, the *Historia de Carlos Quinto* by Pero Mexia, historiographer to that monarch.

Count Romanones, formerly prime minister, has written the introduction for *La Política Exterior de España, 1873-1918* (Madrid, *Excelsior*, 1918, pp. 290), by A. Mousset.

A piece of thorough research by a local historian, Julián Martínez, is embodied in *Rincones de la España Vieja* (Madrid, *Mundo Latino*) which traces the story of the townships of Mejorada del Campo and Rivas de Jarama, near Madrid, from their foundation to the present.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Anon., *La Compagnia de Gesù negli Stati della Casa di Savoia*, I.-II. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, July 19, October 18); G. Calò, *Pasquale Villari e la Nuova Scuola Italiana* (*Nuova Antologia*, July 1); F. Rousseau, *D. Carlos et les Sociétés Secrètes Royalistes, 1823-1838* (*Revue des Études Historiques*, March); A. A. Mendes Corrêa, *Origins of the Portuguese* (*American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, April).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

The volume on the German "race" by Signor Alfredo Niceforo, professor of demography and statistics at Messina, mentioned in a previous issue of this journal, has now been brought out in a French translation with revisions by the author, *Les Germains, Histoire d'une Idée et d'une "Race"* (Paris, Bossard).

Professor F. von Bezold's *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1918, pp. vii, 457) is a collection of articles published in the last forty years as side-studies to his masterpiece, *Das Zeitalter der Deutschen Reformation* (1890).

A Life of Frederick the Great (London, Constable, pp. viii, 433) is by Norwood Young. The volume includes maps and diagrams illustrating campaigns.

Professor E. Brandenburg has contributed to the series *Wissenschaft und Bildung* a volume on *Die Deutsche Revolution 1848* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1919, pp. 144).

An historical study of *L'Évolution de la Bourgeoisie Allemande* (Paris, Alcan, 1919) is by G. Huard.

As far back as 1912 and 1913, M. Charles Andler, against vehement protest from Jaurès and others, maintained in published articles the essentially imperialistic thought and ambitions of the Socialist party in Germany. The articles then printed have now been republished under the title *Le Socialisme Impérialiste dans l'Allemagne Contemporaine* (Paris, Bossard).

Paul Lensch, a Socialist member of the Reichstag, in *Three Years of World-Revolution* (London, Constable, 1918, pp. xv, 220) exposes with cynical and brutal frankness the chauvinism of the German Socialists, their reasons for supporting the war, and their belief in the revolutionizing and liberating rôle of Germany, especially as directed against England and the United States.

M. Gaston Raphael's *Walther Rathenau, ses Idées et ses Projets d'Organisation Économique* (Paris, Payot) performs the important and valuable service of summarizing the whole career, methods, and philosophy of one who may justly be called the most important figure among German business men in the events of the last five years. Rathenau's collected works were, by the way, published in 1918 in five volumes.

Wie Wir Belogen Wurden: Die Amtliche Irreführung des Deutschen Volkes (Munich, Langen, 1918, pp. 189), by Kurt Mühsam, is an interesting attack on the German censorship during the war.

La Révolution Allemande (vol. I., November, 1918-January, 1919, Paris, Payot, 1919) is the account of P. Gentizon, the correspondent of the *Paris Temps*. The Spanish journalist Ibañez de Ibero has described *L'Allemagne de la Défaite* (Paris, Rivière, 1919).

In the *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, the Vienna commission having that series in charge has issued part III. (1450-1454) of the correspondence of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini.

Beginning with vol. LXXXVIII. of the *Corpus Reformatorum* there are appearing *Huldreich Zwingli's Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig, Heinsius). Three volumes of the *Werke*, down to 1525, and two volumes of the *Briefwechsel*, 1510-1526, have appeared. The editors are E. Egli, G. Finsler, and W. Köhler.

The late J. Gremaud's eight volumes of *Documents relatifs à l'Histoire du Valais* (Lausanne, 1875-1898) included materials down to the middle of the fifteenth century. Dr. Leo Meyer, archivist of the canton, will edit a volume covering the intervening period down to 1500. For the period from 1500 to 1798 D. Imesch has undertaken to edit the series of *Die Walliser Landrats Abschiede* (vol. I., 1500-1519, Freiburg, Gschwend, 1916, pp. xv, 772).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Tangl, *Studien zur Neuausgabe der Bonifatius-Briefe*, II. (Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für Aeltere Deutsche Geschichtskunde, XLI. 2); Schalk de la Faverie, *Un Républicain Allemand, Robert Blum* (Révolution de 1848, June); Munroe Smith, *Bismarck Reconsidered* (Political Science Quarterly, September); L. Raschdau, *Aus der Werkstatt des Ersten Deutschen Kanzlers, Neue Schriftstücke aus der Amtlichen Tätigkeit des Fürsten Bismarck*, I-II. (Deutsche Rundschau, May, June); M. Lair, *Un Historien Pan-germaniste: Karl Lamprecht* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August); F. Meinecke, *Die Geschichtlichen Ursachen der Deutschen Revolution* (Deutsche Rundschau, May); R. W. Seton-Watson, *The Fall of Bela Kun* (New Europe, August 14); Anon., *Behind the Scenes in Hungary* (*ibid.*, October 16).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The posthumous volume of G. Somville on *Dinant* (Paris, 1919) presents a wealth of documents and other first-hand materials relating to the fate of that town in 1914 and under the German occupation.

The history of the famous *Libre Belgique* published in defiance of the German authorities throughout the occupation is told by one of the writers, "Fidelis", Albert Van de Kerckhove, in *L'Histoire Merveilleuse de la Libre Belgique* (Paris, Plon, 1919) and by Lieutenant Marcel in *Mes Aventures et le Mystère de la Libre Belgique* (Brussels, Vromant, 1919).

A volume of the war-time letters of Cardinal Mercier, selected by Arthur Boutwood, is entitled *A Shepherd among Wolves* (Faith Press).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Gaston Gaillard, *L'Allemagne et le Baltikum* (Paris, Chapelot, 1919, pp. 278), is an accurate and detailed account of German penetration in the eastern Baltic, to the end of the war.

The monthly *Revue Baltique*, published by Arthur Toupine at 201 Boulevard Péreire, Paris, contains numerous articles and documents relating to the recent history of the new Baltic republics of Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

The problems of the smaller nationalities on the western border of Russia are approached from various angles in *The History of the Lithuanian Nation and its Present National Aspirations* (Philadelphia, Lithuanian Catholic Truth Society, 1918, pp. ix, 156) translated from the Lithuanian of K. A. Jusaitis; in *La Lituanie Religieuse* (Paris, Crès, 1918) by A. Viscont; in *Westrussland in seiner Bedeutung für die Entwicklung Mitteleuropas* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1918) by M. Sering; in *Que Faire de l'Est Européen?* (Paris, Payot, 1919) by the author of *Les Dangers Mortels de la Révolution Russe*; in *La Latvia et la Russie* (*ibid.*, pp. 96) by A. Berg; and in *Russie, Finlande, Scandinavie* (Paris, Ficker, 1919) by S. Vernier.

An account of *Der Rote Aufruhr in Finnland, 1918* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1918, pp. 180), by H. Söderhjelm, translated into German by J. Öhquist, is based on official materials.

The University of Buffalo inaugurates a series of *Studies* with a useful pamphlet on *Education and Autocracy in Russia, from the Origins to the Bolsheviki* (pp. 127) by Dr. Daniel B. Leary, professor of psychology and instructor in Russian.

Mrs. Harold Williams's *A History of the Russian Revolution* (Macmillan) is by a lady of Russian birth, who was in Russia during the revolution, the wife of a noted English correspondent.

The Rand School of Social Science publishes, in a pamphlet of 87 pages, *Memoirs of the Russian Revolution*, by George V. Lomonossoff, who before the war was a teacher in an engineering school in Petrograd, and for a few days within the period February 28-March 6, 1917, was assistant director general of Russian railways. His account of those days, from the point of view of such an official position, is an interesting contribution.

A volume on *Lénine* (Paris, Povolozski, 1919) has been published by Landau-Aldanov. Dr. A. S. Rappoport has written a volume of sketches of the *Pioneers of the Russian Revolution* (London, Stanley Paul and Co., 1918, pp. xxvii, 281).

The historian K. Waliszewski has published a collection of articles under the title *Polonais et Russes, Visions du Passé, Perspective d'Avenir* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. ix, 312).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Mackeprang, *Nordslesvig under Fremmedherredømmet* (Gads Danske Magazin, March); S. E. Morison, *The Peace Conference and the Baltic* (New Europe, August 7, 1919); *The Eastern Baltic: Latvia* (*ibid.*, August 21, 28); *Esthonia* (*ibid.*, September 11); *Finland* (*ibid.*, October 2); J. A. Gade, *On the Shores of the Baltic* [*Esthonia*, 1919] (Atlantic Monthly, October); W. Grimm, *Die Religiös-Politische Lage Livlands unter Russischer Oberhoheit* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, February, 1917); A. Brückner, *Russlands Drang zu den Meeren, ein Historischer Rückblick* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, June, 1917); Queen Marie of Rumania, *Un Martyr de la Grande Tragédie: le Tsar Nicholas II.* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1); P. G. La Chesnais, *La Géorgie pendant la Guerre* (Revue du Mois, July 10).

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

An able essay on *Byzance, Grandeur et Décadence* (Paris, Flammarion, 1919, pp. 348) has been written by Professor C. Diehl.

General Palat has prepared a good survey of the three phases of the *Guerre des Balkans, 1912-1918* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1919, pp. 284).

In 1887 and 1888 the *Journal des Débats* commissioned Comte Begouën for a journey of observation and study in the Slavonic portions of southern Austria-Hungary. The letters then written, together with a private series written at the same time, are now published in a small volume under the title *Chez les Yougo-Slaves il y a Trente-deux Ans* (Paris, Bossard), and form a useful introduction to the knowledge of more recent history in Yugoslav territory.

Professor Ferdinand Šišić of the University of Zagreb (Agram) has written an *Abridged Political History of Rieka (Fiume)* (Paris, Imprimerie Graphique), a sketch well supported by documents.

Essai sur la Législation Serbe du Moyen Age, le Régime des Terres et les Conditions des Personnes (Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1919, pp. viii, 148) was presented as a thesis to the law faculty of the University of Poitiers by B. M. Grachitch.

There is now available a comprehensive account of the Rumanian participation in the Great War, written by a Rumanian, M. Djuvara, with the title *La Guerre Roumaine, 1916-1918* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. 352).

Several articles of current interest published in German periodicals between 1898 and 1917 by I. Gheorgov are collected in *Die Bulgarische Nation und der Weltkrieg* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1918, pp. xvi, 304). A brief but incisive presentation of *L'Unité de la Politique Bulgare, 1914-1919* (Paris, Bossard, 1919, pp. 80) has been made by J. Ancel.

A bulky volume of *Rapports et Enquêtes de la Commission Interalliée sur les Violations du Droit des Gens commises en Macédoine Orientale par les Armées Bulgares* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. 640) is now available.

V. Colocotronis has prepared with great care *La Macédoine et l'Hellénisme, Étude Historique et Ethnologique* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1919, pp. xxiii, 658, 24 maps and charts).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Daniels, *Zur Serbischen und Jugoslawischen Geschichte* (Preussische Jahrbücher, April); E. de Martonne, *Choses Vues en Bessarabie* (Revue de Paris, October 1); R. Pinon, *La Liquidation de l'Empire Ottoman* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1).

ASIA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

A period of critical significance in the history of Armenia is fully dealt with by J. Laurent in *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam depuis la Conquête Arabe jusqu'en 886* (Paris, Boccard, 1919, pp. xii, 400).

M. A. Czaplicka has presented a clear conspectus of *The Turks of Central Asia in History and at the Present Day* (Oxford Press, 1919, pp. 242).

The following important contributions to the history of India have recently appeared: *The History of Aryan Rule in India from the Earliest Times to the Death of Akbar* (New York, Stokes, 1918, pp. xxxi, 582) by E. B. Havell; and *History of the Maratha People*, vol. I. (Oxford Press, 1919) by C. A. Kincaid and R. B. Parasnis.

Father Enrique Heras has published the first volume of *La Dinastia Manchú en China* (Barcelona, Tip. Católica, 1918, pp. xvi, 517) which relates to the period from the founding of the dynasty in 1644 to the death of the second emperor in 1722. Special attention is given to rela-

tions with Christianity and to European civilization. The closing years of Manchu rule are the subject of *Dix Ans de Politique Chinoise* (Paris, Alcan, 1919, pp. 271) by J. Rodes.

The treaties of Korea with other powers between 1876 and 1910, arranged by countries, are collected in *Korean Treaties* (New York, H. S. Nichols, Inc., 1919, pp. xii, 226) by Henry Chung, fellow in economics at Northwestern University.

The former French ambassador to Japan, A. Gérard, has published the record of the crucial years during which he held the post at Tokio in *Ma Mission au Japon, 1907-1914, avec un Épilogue de 1914 à 1919* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. iii, 412).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Golubovich, *Fr. Giovanni Colonna di San Vito, Viaggiatore in Oriente, c. 1260-1343-4?* (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, January, 1918); F. Mury, *La Première République Bolchéviste [in Manchuria]* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 1).

AFRICA, MEDIEVAL AND MODERN

R. Vadala's *Essais sur l'Histoire des Karamanlis* (Paris, Champion, 1919) contains accounts of the several pachas of Tripoli from 1714 to 1835.

Le Maroc de 1919 (Paris, Payot, 1919, pp. 272) by Henry Dugard follows lines similar to the volume of corresponding title issued last year, in furnishing summaries of events and descriptions of conditions. Louis Barthou has eulogized the work of General Lyautey in Morocco in *La Bataille du Maroc* (Paris, Champion, 1919, pp. 124), which affords a survey of the military operations since 1914, of the German intrigues and activities, and of the political and economic policy of the French protectorate. Earlier events are recorded in *Souvenirs de Maroc, Voyages et Missions, 1881-1918* (Paris, Plon, 1919, pp. 385) by H. de la Martinière, formerly French chargé d'affaires at Tangier.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Among the accessions to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress the chief, and one of great importance to the student of American colonial history, is a group of three of the original volumes of the Journals of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, dating as follows: August 3, 1670-September 20, 1672, October 13, 1672-December 22, 1674, March 31, 1677-April 14, 1679, and January 13, 1684/5-December 8, 1686. The Library has also acquired a journal of Michel Bégon, "Relation de mon Voyage aux Isles de l'Amérique, 1682" (pp. 246); 160 pieces and 11 volumes of miscellaneous papers of Caesar A.

and Thomas Rodney, 1771-1823; some 120 miscellaneous papers of Richard Bland Lee, 1701-1825; 400-odd autograph letters of eminent Americans, political and clerical, from the collections of Mr. Simon Gratz; two volumes of a diary by John Pickell of the campaign against the Seminole Indians, 1836-1838; and a collection of Chaillé-Long papers, 1865-1915.

An anonymous friend of Amherst College has given that institution \$100,000 to found two fellowships, each of \$2000 per annum, for the study of social, economic, and political institutions. A fellow will be appointed every second year, for a period of not more than four years. It is expected that at least half of that time shall be spent in study in Europe, and the last year, in whole or in part, at Amherst College. A candidate must be a graduate of a college or university.

The late president C. K. Adams of the University of Wisconsin created by his will a fund for the endowment of fellowships. Two of them, ascribed to modern history and carrying stipends of about \$600, will be available for the year 1920-1921.

The Historical Branch of the General Staff of the United States Army has been placed under the charge of Col. Oliver L. Spaulding and reorganized. It is now conceived of as having three functions. The first is to preserve historical documents relating to the wars of the United States; the papers, photographs, and films of the American Expeditionary Force in France and of the services of supply are now being assembled in this country under its charge. The second is to make these documents, or the information contained therein, accessible to agencies of the War Department and to students and investigators properly accredited. The third is to prepare historical monographs on such military subjects as may be professionally of interest to the War Department. A critical study of German tactics, prepared by the Historical Section of the General Headquarters in France, has already been published, and a large handbook enumerating and describing all economic agencies instituted by the government for war purposes is now in press. It will be seen that most of the programme for a general documentary series previously contemplated, and described in our July number (XXIV, 637-640) has been abandoned. Monographs on mobilization, supplies, and operations will take its place.

A new edition of Professor A. C. McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation*, thoroughly revised and largely rewritten, has been brought out by D. Appleton and Company.

Bulletin no. 64 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is entitled *The Maya Indians of Southern Yucatan and Northern British Honduras*, by Thomas W. F. Gann. About one-third of the volume is devoted to customs, ceremonies, and mode of life. No. 65 is *Archaeological Explorations*

in *Northeastern Arizona*, by Alfred V. Kidder and Samuel J. Guernsey. Much of the study is devoted to a discussion of the material culture of the different groups as indicated by the remains discovered. No. 70 is a thorough and careful description of *Prehistoric Villages, Castles, and Towers of Southwestern Colorado*, by Mr. J. W. Fewkes, with many interesting illustrations.

Volume III. (South Carolina edition) of the *History of the American Negro*, edited by A. B. Caldwell, has come from the press (Atlanta, A. B. Caldwell).

Senate Document no. 26, 66 Cong., 1 sess., is a volume of 280 pages on *Ratification of Treaties*, setting forth methods of procedure in foreign countries relative to the matter, and extracts from the *Executive Journal of the Senate* showing proceedings in cases of treaties rejected by that body.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has in the press three volumes of *American Prize Decisions*, embracing 173 cases which were heard by the United States Supreme Court between 1789 and 1918.

The Oriental Policy of the United States, an historical study by Henry Chung, Korean envoy to the Peace Conference, with an introductory note by Professor J. W. Jenks, is from the press of Revell.

Coal Men of America: a Biographical and Historical Review of the World's Greatest Industry, by Arthur M. Hull, is brought out in Chicago by the *Retail Coalman*.

Arthur Hornblow, for nineteen years editor of the *Theatre Magazine*, has produced in two volumes, illustrated, *A History of the Theatre in America from its Beginnings to the Present Time* (Philadelphia, Lip-pincott).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Besides continued articles hitherto mentioned the September number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* prints a Memorandum on New England and Philadelphia, written by Monsieur D., Louisbourg, November 19, 1744. The document is found in the French archives and is given here in translation furnished by Rev. B. Randolph, C. M.

At the meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society, September 5, Dr. Frank R. Diffenderffer read a paper on the Loyalists in the Revolution. This is published as vol. XXIII., no. 7, of the society's *Papers*.

Thirty unpublished letters of Beaumarchais, important chiefly for his relations with the American republic, are edited by Jules Marsan with the title *Beaumarchais et les Affaires d'Amérique: Lettres Inédites*

(Paris, Champion). L. de Royaumont has prepared a richly illustrated volume on *La Fayette et Rochambeau au Pays de Washington, la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine, 1776-1783* (Grenoble, Rey, 1919, pp. 161).

Houghton Mifflin Company has brought out *The Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle dealing with National Affairs, 1807-1844*, edited by Reginald C. McGrane. The important place which Nicholas Biddle occupies in the financial history of the United States gives to the volume an especial value.

Origin and Early History of the Disciples of Christ, with special reference to the period between 1809 and 1835 (pp. 344), is a doctoral thesis by Walter W. Jennings, written in the University of Illinois and to be obtained from that institution.

The Foundations of Mormonism: a Study of the Fundamental Facts in the History and Doctrines of the Mormons from Original Sources, by William E. La Rue, with an introduction by Alfred W. Anthony, comes from the press of Revell.

A recent Spanish publication touching United States history at an important point is Señor Carlos Pereyra's *Tejas: la Primera Desmembración de Méjico* (Madrid, Editorial-América, pp. 252).

Edwin L. Sabin's volume *Building the Pacific Railway*, recently issued by Lippincott, is based on old narratives, official and government reports, and accounts related by the survivors of the building days.

The Hayes-Conkling Controversy, 1877-1879, by Venila L. Shores, is a recent addition to the *Smith College Studies in History* (vol. IV., no. 4).

The Life and Letters of James Monroe Taylor: the Biography of an Educator, by Elizabeth Hazelton Haight, is from the press of Dutton. Dr. Taylor was president of Vassar College from 1886 to 1914.

Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein of St. Bernard Seminary, Rochester, has prepared a biography in two volumes of Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid of the Rochester diocese, and hopes to publish it before long.

Students of the history of the Spanish-American War may be glad to know that the three numbers for January-June of the bimonthly *Boletín Histórico de Puerto Rico* contained some one hundred-odd pages of documents relating to the period of that war in Porto Rico and to the history of the American military government. Some of them are Spanish translations of documents accessible in English, but most are not. The June number also contains documents illustrating the history of the federal party in the island and of its successor the Unión de Puerto Rico.

Lawrence F. Abbott's volume, *Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt*, is the result of a friendship of twenty-two years (Doubleday, Page, and

Company). *Theodore Roosevelt: the Man as I knew him*, by Ferdinand C. Ingelhart, embodies the author's reminiscences with a biography of Roosevelt (New York, *Christian Herald*). *Theodore Roosevelt: a Biographical Sketch*, by Hermann Hagedorn, is put out in New York by the Roosevelt Memorial Exhibition Committee.

A life of *George von L. Meyer*, ambassador to Russia and Italy, postmaster general under President Roosevelt and secretary of the navy under President Taft, has been prepared by M. A. De Wolfe Howe and published by Dodd, Mead, and Company.

Harper and Brothers have brought out another volume of President Wilson's addresses, with the title *The Triumph of Ideals: Speeches, Messages, and Addresses made by the President between February 24, 1919, and July 8, 1919*.

The Career of Leonard Wood, by Joseph H. Sears, is published by Messrs. D. Appleton and Company.

Doubleday, Page, and Company are publishing George MacAdam's *Life of General Pershing*, which has been running serially in the *World's Work*.

From Midshipman to Rear-Admiral, is the title of a volume of reminiscences by Rear-Admiral Bradley A. Fiske (Century Company).

THE UNITED STATES IN THE GREAT WAR

The second volume of Professor McMaster's *The United States and the World War*, now published or about to be published by Messrs. Appleton, carries on his work from April, 1918, where the first volume ended, to the end of the war and of the ensuing negotiations. Professor John S. Bassett is the author of a compact history of America's part in the Great War, which bears the title *Our War with Germany* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf).

The American Red Cross in the Great War (pp. xii, 303, \$3.00), by Henry P. Davison, chairman of the War Council of the American Red Cross, is from the press of Macmillan. At the close of the war, we are told, more than thirty million Americans were enrolled in this organization. The time will come when its achievements will seem to the historian as important as those of any of the great military machines. Meantime, this clear and business-like book, omitting all mention of personal names, narrates the story of those achievements under all aspects successively (part I.) and in all their various geographical fields (part II.).

The office of the adjutant-general of the United States army is expected to publish before long, in a volume of about 400 pages, a *Handbook of Economic Agencies in the War of 1917*, edited by Lieut.-Col. (Professor) R. V. D. Magoffin.

Two notable regimental histories published by Messrs. Appleton are *From Upton to the Meuse with the 307th Infantry*, by Captain W. K. Rainsford, who had a part in the rescue of Whittlesey's surrounded battalion, and *The Shamrock Battalion of the Rainbow* (the 69th regiment, in the "Rainbow" Division), by Corporal Martin T. Hogan.

In a volume to which he has given the title *Average Americans* (Putnam) Lieut.-Col. Theodore Roosevelt, jr., has related his experiences during twenty months in France, and has also given some reminiscences of his father, particularly concerning his fight for preparedness.

Messrs. D. Appleton and Company are publishing a series of volumes on "Problems of War and of Reconstruction", edited by Francis G. Wickware, many of which are partly of an historical character. Among them may be mentioned: *Commercial Policy in War Time and After*, by W. S. Culbertson; *Government Organization in War Time and After*, by W. F. Willoughby; *War Time Control of Commerce*, by L. E. Van Norman; *War Costs and their Financing*, by Professor E. L. Bogart; *Government Insurance in War Time and After*, by Professor S. M. Lindsay; *Labor in War Time and After*, by W. J. Lauck; *Merchant Shipping in War Time and After*, by Edward N. Hurley; *Food Supplies in War Time and After*, by Vernon L. Kellogg; and *National Transportation in War Time and After*, by Professor Emory R. Johnson.

(See also pp. 337-341, *supra*)

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

NEW ENGLAND

Literary Culture in Early New England (pp. 296), by the late Dr. T. G. Wright of Yale University, has been edited by Mrs. Wright and published by the Yale University Press.

In the August number of the *Granite Monthly* Otis G. Hammond gives a history of the recovery by the state of New Hampshire of a body of the papers of Meshech Weare, president of New Hampshire during the Revolution. These papers are now deposited with the New Hampshire Historical Society.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has published volume XX. of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay* (pp. 830) embracing 1857 resolves passed between May 28, 1777, and May 4, 1779. The book of course makes an enormous addition to our knowledge respecting the history of Massachusetts during those two years; yet one cannot help regretting that the late Mr. Goodell's excessive annotation of the earlier volumes has led the state authorities to go to the other extreme, of publishing texts entirely without introductions or explanations.

The New England Historic Genealogical Society has brought out *Vital Records of Westport, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850*.

The *Bulletin* of the Newport Historical Society for October contains a paper, by Hamilton B. Tompkins, on Benedict Arnold, first Governor of Rhode Island.

The state librarian of Connecticut, Mr. George S. Godard, has arranged with the Connecticut commandery of the Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States to deposit in the Connecticut State Library for permanent preservation and public exhibition its interesting and varied collection of material illustrating the history of our foreign wars.

Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut 1769-1784 (Little, Brown and Company) is a biography by his great-great-grandson, Jonathan Trumbull.

The New Haven Colony Historical Society has published the second volume of its series of *Ancient Town Records*, being *New Haven Town Records, 1662-1684* (pp. 457), edited by Dr. Franklin B. Dexter. Such a volume defies reviewing, but it is full of data that illuminate the life and character of a New England town in the period indicated. The reproduction of long s's and the printing of y^e for the, y^t for that, and the like, seem to us very undesirable.

MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The New York Historical Society has begun the reproduction, by means of the photostat, of the *New York Gazette*; it has thus far issued the years 1726-1729. The society's *Quarterly Bulletin* for October contains the printed text and facsimile of the articles of convention between General Burgoyne and General Gates, signed at Saratoga, October 16, 1777. There is also an account, by Reginald P. Bolton, of the explorations of the "old fort" and camp site at Richmond, Staten Island, together with a map of the fort and camp site, showing the location of deposits unearthed.

The Pennsylvania State Museum at Harrisburg has been greatly enriched in respect to Indian relics, by purchases recently made from collectors by the State Historical Commission, so that it now embraces more than twenty-five thousand objects, mostly war implements, found in all parts of the state.

The October number of the *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* contains a paper by Charles W. Dahlinger on Pittsburgh's First Burying Ground, and a sketch, by Robert M. Ewing, of the Life and Times of William Findley, Pennsylvania politician, member of Congress 1791-1799, 1803-1817.

Any person owning contemporary letters, documents, or other historical materials pertaining to President Washington's southern tour in 1791 is requested to communicate with Professor Archibald Henderson, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, who is preparing a book on the subject.

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* contains a report, by a committee of the Maryland Historical Society, on the personnel composing the "Maryland Four Hundred" at the Battle of Long Island; a paper by Dr. B. Bernard Browne on the Battle of the Severn: its Antecedents and Consequences, 1651-1655; and a continuation of Edward S. Delaplaine's Life of Thomas Johnson. In the September number are found a catalogue of the Edris and Virginia Berkley Memorial Collection of Washington Prints, by Henry J. Berkley, and a Notice of some of the First Buildings of Annapolis, with notes on some of the Early Residents, by Mrs. Rebecca Key, with an introductory note by Mrs. Annie L. Sioussat. The Carroll Papers are continued through both numbers. In both numbers also appear memorial sketches of Marylanders who fell in the recent war.

SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

The Virginia State Library has recently received, by gift from Mrs. O. A. Ljungstedt, an inventory of the records of Accomac county from the formation of the county to 1800.

The Negro in Virginia Politics, 1865-1902 (pp. 199), by Reginald L. Morton, Ph.D., Phelps-Stokes fellow in the University of Virginia, 1917-1918, is no. 4 of the *Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Papers* in the *Publications* of the University of Virginia. The author has made a careful and well-reasoned study of the subject, gathering evidence from all available sources.

The Bench and Bar of West Virginia, by G. W. Atkinson, is brought out in Charleston, W. Va., by the Virginian Law Book Company.

The North Carolina Historical Commission has received from Mrs. H. A. London forty-one bound volumes of the *Chatham Record*, 1878-1919, a complete set of the oldest weekly newspaper in North Carolina, owned and edited for forty years by the late Maj. Henry A. London, and now edited by his son. The commission has had mounted and bound the papers of the governors for the period 1777-1787, in all, fifteen volumes. Arrangements have been made with Miss Adelaide L. Fries of Winston-Salem, archivist of the Southern Moravians, to translate from the German and edit for publication the records of the Moravians of North Carolina. These records consist chiefly of diaries and the "Memorabilia" which have been prepared and read to the Moravian congregation annually by their pastors since the founding of the Wachovia settlement in North Carolina in 1752. The first volume, embracing records from 1752 to 1771, is about ready for the press.

In the January and April issues of the *North Carolina Booklet*, Professor Archibald Henderson presents a useful biography of John Steele of North Carolina, Federalist member of the first two Congresses and comptroller of the Treasury from 1796 to 1802, with interesting extracts from his correspondence.

In the April and July numbers of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* Judge Henry A. M. Smith continues his articles on the Ashley River: its Seats and Settlements, the article in the latter number bearing the special title: The Upper Ashley, and the Mutations of Families. The several documentary series contributed by Miss Mabel L. Webber are continued.

The June number of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly* contains an address delivered by Gen. Alexander R. Lawton, April 21, 1919, at the centennial celebration of the voyage of the steamship *Savannah*, the first transatlantic steamship; also an account of the loss of the steamer *Pulaski*, in June, 1838, written by Mrs. Hugh McLeod (Miss Rebecca Lamar), one of the survivors of the disaster. In the July number are found the Decision of Judge John Erskine in the case *Ex parte* William Law, under the "Attorney's Test Oath Act" (1866), and a brief article, by the editor, concerning the Case of George McIntosh.

WESTERN STATES

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* has articles by Dr. Chauncey S. Boucher on the Annexation of Texas and the Bluffton Movement in South Carolina, and by Thomas R. Hay, on the South and the Arming of the Slaves, in which the agitations of the question, before the final decision, are mainly considered. The September number opens with an address delivered by Professor Harlow Lindley as president of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, on Western Travel, 1800-1820, mainly concerned with explorations west of St. Louis; it also has a careful article by Miss Ella Lonn on the French Council of Commerce in relation to American trade, and one by Professor Royal B. Way on the United States Factory System for Trading with the Indians, 1796-1822. The June number presents a survey of recent historical activities in the Old Northwest, by Professor Arthur C. Cole, and the September number a survey of historical activities in Canada, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee, of Ottawa.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association held its twelfth annual meeting at Berea College, Kentucky, October 16-18, ending with an excursion to Indian Fort. Notable among the papers read were those of Professor C. B. Coleman on the Ohio River as an Artery and as a Boundary, of Miss A. M. Cromwell on the Shakers in Kentucky, of Professor Harlow Lindley on Henry Clay, and of Professor W. H. Siebert on the Loyalists of Kentucky. Professor Siebert was elected president, Professor Elizabeth Crowther of Western College for Women secretary.

The *Transactions* of the Western Reserve Historical Society (*Publications*, no. 100), embodying the annual reports for 1918-1919, includes lists of the early newspapers and manuscripts acquired by the society. Among the former are over 900 Confederate issues, and among the latter are important Confederate records.

The Indiana Centennial, 1916: a Record of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of Indiana's Admission to Statehood, edited by Professor Harlow Lindley, secretary of the Indiana Historical Commission, is brought out by the commission and is designated one of the *Indiana Historical Collections*. The volume includes a brief account, by Lee Burns, of the Beginnings of the State; a Report of the Commission's Activities; a record of the several celebrations, including, besides the state celebration at Indianapolis and the Indiana pageant, the numerous county celebrations, and also the meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association; the Admission Day Exercises, December 11, 1916; and the several centennial addresses by Governor Samuel M. Ralston. Other addresses printed *in extenso* in the volume are those of President Wilson, Professor James A. Woodburn, Professor Frederic L. Paxson, Professor Harlow Lindley (the presidential address before the Ohio Valley Historical Association), Father John Cavanaugh, and Congressman Merrill Moores. The volume contains a number of portraits and other illustrations.

A state conference on Indiana history was held at Indianapolis, December 10 and 11, for the purpose of discussing problems in local and state history, awakening a greater interest in historical pursuits, and securing a larger measure of co-operation in historical effort.

The September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* includes a memoir of Spencer Records recounting his Pioneer Experiences in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana, 1766-1836; the Journal of Ebenezer Chamberlain of a Trip from Maine to Indiana in 1832, edited by Louise Fogle; and a paper on Indiana in the Mexican War, by R. C. Buley.

Reminiscences of the Early Marion County Bar, by W. W. Woollen, *The National Road in Indiana*, by Lee Burns, and *Early Indianapolis*, by Mrs. Laura F. Hodges, constitute nos. 3, 4, and 5, respectively, of vol. VII. of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications*.

The Illinois State Historical Library has in press three volumes of the *Illinois Historical Collections*: one reprinting the texts of the state's three successive constitutions, edited by E. G. Verlie; one containing the debates of the constitutional convention of 1847, edited by Professor Arthur C. Cole; and one comprising a reprint of Washburn's *Life of Edward Coles* and a considerable number of Coles's letters.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the

year 1918 (*Publications*, no. 24, of the Illinois State Historical Library) includes besides the usual proceedings the addresses delivered at the centennial meeting of the society, April 17-18, 1918. Following are the titles of those addresses: Illinois: the Land of Men, by Edgar A. Bancroft; Virginia in the Making of Illinois, by H. J. Eckenrode; Illinois in the Democratic Movement of the Century, by Allen Johnson; Establishing the American Colonial System in the Old Northwest, by Elbert J. Benton; the Interest Indiana holds in Historic Illinois, by Charles W. Moores; the Centennial History of Illinois, by Clarence W. Alvord; and a Message from France, by M. Louis Aubert. In addition there is an extended paper by Andrew H. Mills entitled a Hundred Years of Illinois Sunday School History.

The following articles are found in the October number of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*: University of St. Mary of the Lake, by Rev. D. J. Riordan; the Franciscans in Southern Illinois, by Rev. Silas Barth, O. F. M.; the Northwestern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati, by Rev. J. Rothensteiner; the Irish in Early Illinois, by J. J. Thompson; Oliver Pollock, Patriot and Financier, by Margaret B. Downing; and a Great Illinois Pioneer: the Rev. John George Alleman, O. P., by Rev. J. B. Cullemans. The four articles first mentioned are to be continued.

At a meeting of the Tennessee Historical Society in May, Dr. W. A. Provine was chosen to be editor of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, J. H. DeWitt, manager, and J. Tyree Fain, assistant, the three constituting the publishing committee. The dates of issue have been changed from March, June, September, and December, to January, April, July, and October. For the year 1919, however, the April number is constituted no. 1. The principal contents of this number are a paper on Henderson and Company's Purchase within the Limits of Tennessee, by Samuel C. Williams; a discussion of Some Confusing Statements in Ramsey's *Annals* and Other Historians, by J. Tyree Fain, who is preparing an index to Ramsey's *Annals of Tennessee*; and some Notes of a Tour from Nashville to New Orleans down the Cumberland, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers in the Year 1807, by Dr. John R. Bedford, with introduction and notes by the editor.

Bulletin 10 of the Michigan Historical Commission is an account of the War Records of Michigan; *Bulletin 11* comprises a group of prize essays written by pupils in Michigan schools, in a contest arranged by the commission during war-time, for pupils' historical essays on the reasons for America's participation in the war.

Among the contents of the July number of the *Michigan History Magazine* are: Marquette County and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, by Judge John W. Stone; the Forests of the Upper Peninsula and their Place in History, by Alvan L. Sawyer; Some Place Names in the Upper

Peninsula of Michigan and Elsewhere, by William F. Gagnieur, S. J.; the Michigan Railroad Commission, by Russell D. Kilborn; and an address by Hon. Augustus C. Carton, president of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, entitled Historical Work after the War.

The Wisconsin State Historical Society received in November the collection of native copper implements brought together by the late Henry P. Hamilton of Two Rivers and bequeathed to the society by his will. It is said to be the most important collection of native copper implements in existence. The *Proceedings* of the society at its sixty-sixth annual meeting, October 24, 1918, records among the more important manuscript accessions the papers of Nelson Dewey, first governor of the state, of George B. Smith, member of the first constitutional convention, of John H. Tweedy, last territorial delegate to Congress, of the late Senator Husting, of Azel Ladd, state superintendent of education 1852-1854, of Rev. Matthew Dinsdale, a Methodist preacher of the territorial period and later, and a diary (1840-1890) of Colonel Michael Frank, founder of Wisconsin's public school system.

The Wisconsin War History Commission was organized in October, and appointed Mr. John G. Gregory secretary. The commission has in hand the publication of an official history of the Thirty-second Division, prepared by its officers under the supervision of Gen. Haan, and the preparation of an official history of Wisconsin's part in the Great War. The sum of \$25,000 is available for the former object; \$10,000 per annum has for the present been appropriated for the work of the commission in general.

The principal articles in the September number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* are the Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants, by Theodore C. Blegen, and the third chapter (the Days of the Lead Miners) in the Story of Wisconsin, by Miss Kellogg. Of a documentary sort are some Letters of a Fifth Wisconsin Volunteer, edited by R. G. Plumb, and some recollections of J. H. Evans concerning General Grant and Early Galena. The December issue contains a paper by James H. McManus on the Old Trail from Prairie du Chien northward to La Pointe on Lake Superior; a paper by H. R. Holand on the "Kensington Rune Stone", defending once more its authenticity; Observations of a Contract Surgeon, by Dr. William F. Whyte; an article by W. A. Titus on Portage; and a fourth installment of Miss Kellogg's Story of Wisconsin.

Acta et Dicta for July continues the late Archbishop Ireland's biography of Bishop Cretin, recounts the history during fifty years of the House of the Good Shepherd in St. Paul, has an article on Beginnings and Growth of the Catholic Church in Montana, by Rev. Cyril Pauwelyn, and prints a large body of interesting notes on the history of the diocese of Duluth, by Rev. P. G. Lydon.

A review of the legislation of the thirty-eighth general assembly of Iowa (January 13 to April 19, 1919) is the principal content of the October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*.

The Missouri Historical Society has acquired a body of papers relating to the War of 1812 in Missouri, consisting of muster-rolls, journals, and miscellaneous papers; also some letters of James Callaway, documents signed by Daniel Boone and his sons, and a plan of Fort Johnson on the Des Moines River.

Articles in the October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are: the first installment of a paper on James W. Fannin, jr., in the Texas Revolution, by Ruby C. Smith; Border Troubles along the Rio Grande, 1848-1860, by J. Fred Rippey; the Somervell Expedition to the Rio Grande, 1842, by Sterling B. Hendricks; and the eighth installment of the Minutes of the Ayuntamiento of San Felipe de Austin, 1828-1832, edited by Professor Eugene C. Barker.

The Texas State Library has lately finished arranging an accumulation of many years' duplicates of Texas state documents. These are now available for exchange with libraries. Such lists should be sent to Miss Elizabeth H. West, state librarian. The secret journals of the Senate of the Republic of Texas, printed a few years ago, may be especially mentioned.

Mr. R. M. McKittrick's *The Public Land System of Texas* (Bulletin no. 905 of the University of Wisconsin, pp. 172) aims to cover all aspects of its important subject, from 1823 to 1910.

The *Twenty-first Biennial Report* (1917-1919) of the Board of Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society has appeared.

The June number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* contains a History of the Narrow Gauge Railroad in the Willamette Valley, by Leslie M. Scott, an article on the Beginnings of Christianity in Oregon, by George H. Himes, and the fifth installment of Dr. Shippee's study of the Federal Relations of Oregon. Among the contents of the September number, besides a continuation of Dr. Shippee's study, are an article on the British Side of the Restoration of Fort Astoria, by Katharine B. Judson, and an address by Frederick V. Holman on the Qualities of the Oregon Pioneers.

CANADA

The Public Archives of Canada have received additional transcripts from Paris, completing series B of the Archives des Colonies, and advancing other series, and many continuations from the London archives and from Quebec and Montreal; likewise twenty-four large volumes of transcripts of the records and papers of Lt.-Gov. John Graves Simcoe of Upper Canada.

The forthcoming volume of the *Reports* of the Canadian Archives will contain a complete set of official proclamations, public notices, etc., of the military government (1760-1764) for the districts of Montreal and Three Rivers, and as many as possible for the district of Quebec, the public proclamations issued in Canada, 1764-1791, and the remaining portion, 1824-1847, of the calendar of the Neilson papers.

The Oxford University Press is to publish two volumes of the letters of the late Sir John A. Macdonald, edited by Sir Joseph Pope.

An elaborate biography of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in two volumes, embracing also a collection of speeches, is being prepared by his friend Senator Laurent O. David. Another life is being prepared by Professor O. D. Skelton of Queen's University; installments of it are appearing in the *Century Magazine*.

We understand that the Canadian official series of *Proclamations, Orders in Council and Documents relating to the European War* is not to be continued after the completion of the fifth volume, which ends with October 1, 1916. Another official Canadian publication of importance is Sir Edward Kemp's *Report on the Overseas Military Forces of Canada*, 1918. In the co-operative history, *Canada in the Great War*, vol. II, deals with Canada's preparation for the war; vols. III. and IV., issued at about the present time, are devoted respectively to Canada's share in the maritime warfare and in the first stages of the warfare on land. Two more volumes will complete the work.

The fourteenth *Report* of the Bureau of Archives of the province of Ontario contains a first installment, 1789-1794, of the records of the early courts of Upper Canada.

AMERICA SOUTH OF THE UNITED STATES

The Hispanic-American Historical Review for August opens with an article, in Spanish by Professor Rafael Altamira, accompanied by a translation, on the place given to the study of American institutions in the public educational system of Spain. This is followed by a paper on the Indian of the Southwest in the Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico, 1848-1853, by Mr. J. F. Rippey of the University of California, and by some fifty pages of discussion of the teaching of Hispanic-American history in the United States and of syllabi drawn up for such purposes.

In no. 28-29 of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla* Don Pedro Torres Lanzas begins a catalogue by *legajos* of that section of the Archives of the Indies called "Contaduría General del Consejo de Indias".

An interesting contribution to the history of South American public opinion during the Great War has been made by Señor Francisco Contreras, the Chilean poet, in a volume entitled *Les Écrivains Hispano-Américains et la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Bossard).

Students of the most recent period of Mexican history will find useful material in *Mexico Revolucionario: Colección de Documentos relativos á las últimas Revoluciones Mexicanas* (Havana, Espinosa Ferré y Compañía).

A History of Banking in Mexico, by Dr. Walter F. McCaleb, formerly a director of the Federal Reserve Bank at Dallas, is expected to be published by Harper and Brothers in January.

In the May-June number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Cuba), besides a continuation of the documents pertaining to the conspiracy entitled "Gran Legión del Aguila Negra" (1830), there are two considerable documents: "Sentencia de la Causa por Conspiración conocida por la de la Vuelta de Abajo" (1853), and "Sobre el Escándalo ocurrido en el Teatro de Tacón, hoy Nacional, la Noche del 19 de Abril de 1866". There is also an installment of an "Índice del Libro Sexto de Reales Órdenes" (1776), and a continuation of the inventory of the archives of the Cuban revolutionary delegation in New York, 1892-1898.

The Cuban Academy of History has inaugurated a series of *Anales de la Academia de la Historia*, intended to be bimonthly, by a handsome quarto number for July-August, in which the matter most interesting to readers in the United States will be a biographical study of Gen. Manuel de Quesada y Loynaz, an important figure in the revolutionary movements of 1868-1870.

The trustees of the Hispanic Society of America have lately opened an exhibition at their building in New York, 156th street west of Broadway, of historical documents illustrating South American independence, derived from the collection of Señor George M. Corbacho, member of the Peruvian Parliament.

Father Froylan Rionegro makes an important contribution to the colonial history of northern South America by his two volumes of *Relaciones de las Misiones de las PP. Capuchinos en las Antiguas Provincias Españolas hoy República de Venezuela, 1650-1817* (Seville, tip. La Exposición).

The government of Chile and the University of California have arranged for a system of exchanges of university professors and other teachers, the details of which in the United States are to be managed by a Committee on Hispanic-American Relations in the University of California. Professor Charles E. Chapman of that university is to spend the calendar year 1920 as exchange professor in Chile under this arrangement. The subsequent appointments of Spanish-speaking professors in the United States, most commonly of professors of history, economics, political science or law, are to be made from various universities. The plan includes also a small number of school-teachers, Chilean and of the United States.

Out of articles originally published in the *Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía* Señor Alberto Lara has made a substantial and authoritative volume on one of the most important battles of the wars of independence, *La Batalla de Chacabuco* (Santiago de Chile, Imp. Universitaria, pp. 263).

The history of the controversy between Peru and Chile over the provinces of Arica and Tacna is presented in *Nuestra Cuestión con Chile* (Lima, *Mercurio Peruano*) by Don Victor Andrés Belaunde, under commission from the Peruvian government.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Baron A. de Maricourt, *Un Colon Français au Brésil: le Sire de Villegagnon* (*Revue Hebdomadaire*, October 18); J. W. Howay, ed., *The Voyage of the Hope, 1790-1792* (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, May); M. Bien, *Le Domaine Public des États-Unis* (*Journal des Économistes*, August); W. R. Riddell, ed., *A Contemporary Account of the Navy Island Episode, 1837 [the Caroline]* (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, May); J. Hashagen, *Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Ausserpolitischen Beziehungen zwischen England und den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (*Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, July, 1917); E. Staehelin, *Schweizer Theologen im Dienste der Reformierten Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten* (*Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift*, XXXVI. 4); Elihu Root, *Theodore Roosevelt* (*North American Review*, December); J. B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time, shown in his own Letters*, I., II., III. (*Scribner's Magazine*, September, October, November); F. M. Fling, *The Fourteen Points and the Peace Conference* (*The New World*, August); F. H. Dixon, *Federal Operation of Railroads during the War* (*Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August); G. MacAdam, *Life of General Pershing* [cont.] (*World's Work*, September, October, November, December); E. W. Knight, *Reconstruction and Education in South Carolina* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, October); W. L. Jenks, *The Judicial System of Michigan under Governors and Judges* (*Michigan Law Review*, November); L. T. Bowes, *Rupert's House: the Oldest British Settlement in Canada* (*Canadian Magazine*, August); A. R. Hassard, *Great Canadian Orators*: I. D'Arcy McGee; II. Joseph Howe; III. Nicholas Flood Davin; IV. Louis Joseph Papineau (*ibid.*, August, September, October, November); W. R. Riddell, *The Slave in Upper Canada* (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, May); O. D. Skelton, *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, I. (*Century Magazine*, October); C. Kernisan, *Haïti depuis 1915, la Convention Américano-Haïtienne: la Doctrine de Monroë et les Principes Wilsoniens* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, August 15); R. Blanco-Fombona, *The Struggle for Independence in Argentina* (*Inter-America*, English, October); P. Groussac, *El Congreso de Tucumán* (*Revista de Derecho, Historia, y Letras*, January); Heitor Lyra, *Pan Americanism in Brazil prior to the Statement of the Monroe Doctrine* (*Inter-America*, English, December); J. de Armas, *Rosas and Doctor Francia* (*ibid.*, October).

